FORUM

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Our occupation policy is dangerous

Denazification or Renazificaton?

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THE elimination of Nazi influence from German political life rightly enjoys a high priority among Allied objectives. The war would have been fought in vain if the evils which brought it about were permitted to continue. American public opinion, therefore, generally accepts denazification as a necessary, even though unpleasant, task.

The more desirable an aim, however, the more necessary it is to avoid dogmatic insistence on a particular set of means. Should the wrong means be chosen, the efforts made would not only fall short of the goal but they might well aggravate the evils which are to be eradicated. In the case of denazification this warning is especially pertinent. The term itself evokes such a favorable emotional response that the average person will feel that hardly anything done in this field is sufficient. In such an atmosphere, quantity is easily accepted as a substitute for quality. The more people who are covered by the measures taken and the harsher their punishment, the more popular is the entire policy likely to be.

American policy towards vanquished Germany, in regard to denazification as well as other matters, was at first planned on a rational and realistic basis. About a year after Pearl Harbor, the State and War Departments, always in touch with their English counterparts, began to make their plans for the enemy countries. The results of their work, so far as Germany is concerned, were eventually incorporated in the *Handbook for Military Government in Germany* and in the original version of what later became known as the Joint Chiefs of Staff (usually abbreviated J.C.S.) Directive 1067. These documents have not yet been made public, but enough is known of their contents to indicate that they aimed at a program which was moderate as well as practical. Essential American aims were to be secured but, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic

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Charter, chief reliance was placed on positive rather than on negative measures.

The plans in question were radically changed during the year preceding the Nazi surrender. In the summer of 1944, Colonel Bernard Bernstein, Mr. Morgenthau's representative in the European theatre of operations, succeeded in having the *Handbook for Military Government in Germany* discarded; the officers responsible for it were relieved of their assignments. The State and War Departments, however, were still clinging to what was more or less their own original version of J.C.S. 1067. On March 10, 1945, there took place a meeting of the Interdepartmental Committee in which Mr. Morgenthau took vigorous exception to this draft, which then bore the initials of President Roosevelt. A new directive was drawn up during March and April; it meant a substantial victory for the policies advocated by the then Secretary of the Treasury.

In the case of denazification, the change in policy meant the addition of more and more groups to the list of those liable to arrest or dismissal.

Ultimately the members of no fewer than 60 organizations became subject to "denazification;" the same applies to those covered by about 70 additional categories. There was no difficulty in finding reasons for these additions. It is the essence of a totalitarian state not only to force a large number of people into the ruling party, but also to draw every other form of social organization into its orbit. Organizations which are not disbanded are "coordinated." In this way, the majority of the people are brought into at least nominal contact with the totalitarian system. If all those involved are to be eliminated from the country's social and political life, the blows are no longer aimed at the former ruling minority, but they affect the people as a whole. Indeed, the thesis of collective guilt, which obliterates the distinction between the instigators and operators of a totalitarian system and the people living under it, was at that time officially accepted in Washington. Denazification, as finally instituted, cannot be understood except in relation to this fact. On May 5, 1947, a War Department press release reported that, in the American zone of occupation, 3,278,000 out of a total of 11,825,000 persons were chargeable as Nazis and militarists. This was *after* the so-called Christmas and youth amnesties, and if we bear in mind that those chargeable included a high percentage of heads of families, it will be seen that "denazification" applied to such a large sector of the population affected all by its direct or indirect consequences.

MASS ARRESTS

In the early stages of denazification, mass arrests were its most spectacular feature. The number of those arrested in the American zone, and often interned in the concentration camps of the defunct Gestapo, reached a peak of 100,000. Protestant as well as Catholic leaders in Germany protested. A dispatch to the News Service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, dated May 6, 1946, gave the following details about the background of the protests:

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Blueprint patterns thus are applied perfunctorily even to people who have produced dependable witnesses and ample evidence to prove their consistent hostility to and active resistance against the Nazi regime. There are instances of Catholics and even members of religious orders, who were interned months ago under American, British or French military orders without ever having been given a hearing and often without being granted the privilege of communicating with their families and friends. Agencies such as the Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps, sometimes operating with methods that senior military government officers have termed caustically as those of 'junior G-men,' frequently have perpetrated arrests wantonly. Commanding officers have admitted to this correspondent that people often are hired as special agents who lack experience and a sense of discretion, and even people motivated by petty instincts of revenge and personal hatred who hardly had gone through the most elementary training for so delicate and responsible a job.

These facts may come as a surprise to many of the readers of this article. It should, however, be borne in mind that arrests without warrant, and without *habeas corpus* were and still are quite "legal." The Potsdam declarations—preceded, in this respect as in others, by a corresponding provision in the final version of J.C.S. 1067—provided that the military authorities could arrest not only members of certain groups, but also "any other persons dangerous to the occupation and its objectives." Thus anyone could be arrested without redress. Strange incidents occurred. There was a provision that people arrested as members of a certain group were not to be released under any circumstances. In this case as in others, some arrests were due to mistaken identity. When the facts were uncovered, the military authorities first professed to be helpless, and changed their attitude only after a well-known American journalist threatened to publicize the errors made. The situation is unsatisfactory even in the case of those who were arrested for good reason. Tens of thousands of them have now been held for more than two years. During this time no effort was made to re-educate those who might have proved redeemable. All, including many able-bodied men, were kept in idleness and fed at public expense, in spite of the fact that a scarcity of labor developed, and that properly supervised reconstruction work was the least which those really guilty could have done in expiation for their deeds.

Removals from office were, of course, more numerous than arrests. At first, they were, for the most part, limited to public employment where they did not fail to produce their share of unexpected results. In one Bavarian district it was found, for example, that more than 90 per cent of the judges were members of the Nazi party and had as such been summarily removed from office. This, of course, implied that they could not be employed except as ordinary laborers, and that they might be expelled from their homes. The high percentage of party members seemed strange to the legal divi-

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sion of the Military Government. Investigation revealed that the Nazi boss of this particular area had wanted money in order to build himself a palatial office building. So he went to see Hitler, and after his return he called a meeting of all court employees from janitors to judges. He told them: "Our beloved Feuhrer is very pleased with the work which we are doing in this district and, as a result, he has conferred upon all of you the honor of membership in the party. Heil Hitler!" All had to pay their initiation fees and their dues, and the palace was built. The prompt action of the legal division of the Military Government secured redress in this instance; the case of each justice was investigated separately, and a decision made upon his personal merits, which made possible the reinstatement of the majority of the judges.

SCHOOLS

In Germany, practically all teachers, from the grade schools to the universities, were public officials. The *Report of the United States Education Mission to Germany* contains these remarks on the denazification of schools:

> Meanwhile children have not stopped coming to school age, nor will they stop. So the schools had to face and will have to face their basic problem of educating all German children with a professional personnel inadequate in both quality and quantity. Nor is recruitment ready even if it were more ready than it is. For the time lag between recruitment and graduation of new teachers, many former teachers who are almost certain to be exonerated by the courts remain idle, their function unperformed, and their plight an easy focus of community discontent.

Removals of people from their positions in professional and business life were, in many ways, more important in their immediate effects than removals from administrative or teaching positions. Large-scale dismissals of all kinds of employees in industry are the result of the so-called "Law No. 8" which was promulgated, and became effective (and some also say, conceived and drafted) on September 26, 1945. Those dismissed could not be reemployed except as ordinary laborers. Neither Potsdam nor J.C.S. 1067 made such sweeping prohibitions necessary. Mr. Laird Bell, the former Deputy Director of the Economic Division of the Military Government, in a lecture delivered before the Chicago Association of Commerce on March 20, 1946, had this to say on the background of this law:

> Military Government detachments responsible for their districts as they came in on the heels of the armies had, in order to prevent starvation, to put to use anybody or thing that they could lay hands on. They wanted the waterworks to pump even if the engineer had been a Nazi. They wanted the railroads to run despite the fact that probably 90 per cent of the personnel were party members.
>
> But immediately a clamor arose from this side of the water that Military Government was not being tough enough. Now if there's anything that insults a regular Army officer, it is the

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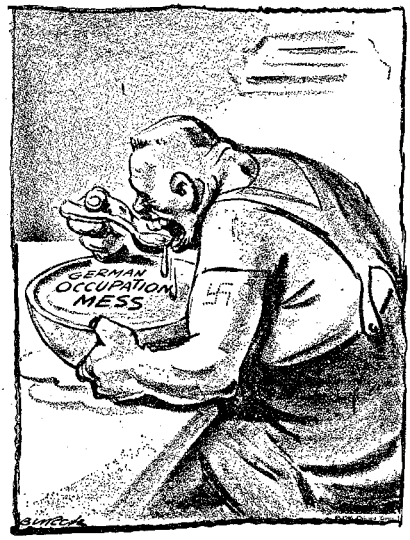
charge that he is not being tough. So whenever a newspaper at home used those dreadful words, something violent had to be done about it in Germany next day. Steps of increasing severity were taken—drastic and showy if possible or at least accompanied by a press release. But still the press was not satisfied.

I might pause here to consider a phenomenon that puzzled me a great deal in Germany, the sensitiveness of the professional military man to criticism in the press. Here are men secure in their jobs, always able to justify themselves as simply carrying out orders from higher authority, supposedly above the heat and fury of political controversy; you would think they might be somewhat immune to press criticism. But the smallest article in an obscure journal seemed to agitate the high command as the mouse is supposed to trouble the elephant. And another phenomenon that went with this was the bloodthirstiness of the so-called liberal press. They seemed to feel any deviation from the Morgenthau line was somehow wicked, and the combination of military jumpiness and the willingness of the minor press to take advantage of it had the effect of making our application of our punitive policy self-consciously harsh.

Examples testifying to the detrimental effects of this law could be multiplied. Inasmuch as coal production is of such crucial importance not only to Germany, but to all of Europe, it is interesting to note that the report of a British parliamentary committee which visited Germany in the summer of 1946 contains this



Burck in *The Chicago Times*

"HIS DISH"

sentence: "No man, for instance, who has been a Nazi can in 1946 be a technician in a mine, whereas, in 1945, no man could be a technician in a mine unless he was a Nazi." Or take the fact that in the American zone more than 10,000 railroad employees, mostly technical personnel, such as engineers and brakemen were dismissed on the same day. It was generally anticipated that the result would be a lowering of both the efficiency and the safety of the railroads, a fact which must be evaluated in combination with the circumstance that, in the summer of 1947, the bottleneck in transportation became as bad as, if not worse, than, the bottleneck in the production of coal. Besides, even if a locomotive engineer or, for that matter, a postman, had been a Nazi (provided that he was not a criminal, or a notorious Nazi) is that reason to

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expect political danger from his continued employment?

So far as the professions are concerned, consider the example given by Lord (formerly Sir William) Beveridge in his booklet, "An Urgent Message from Germany:" "A British officer concerned with public health named me as one of his difficulties that nearly all the best surgeons and medical specialists in his region were behind our bars. The best occulist in Hamburg is no longer allowed to save people from blindness." Lord Beveridge concludes: "The policy of de-Nazification that we accept in Potsdam is a policy fit only for a totalitarian state." Another observer, Dr. Hans von Hentig, an exile from Nazi Germany, who is now teaching at the University of Iowa, commented: "Former surgeons now make chairs; former judges paint dolls; university teachers pluck hops or repair fences. The ones hardest hit, on the basis of party membership, are the grade school teachers. Hundreds of thousands of them have sunk into a sub-proletarian existence."

It will be said that the entire program of denazification has now been handed over to the Germans, and that it is up to them to administer it in such a way as to exclude injustice. Essential provisions, however, of the so-called "Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism" were not contained in the German draft; considerable pressure had to be brought to bear on the German leaders before they could be induced to accept the American program. The German objections, which are shared by a great many of our own officials, center on the following provisions: first of all, in the appendix of the law there reappears the large list of organizations and categories which had been drawn up in Washington at a time when wartime passions had reached their peak. Some of these groups do not belong there on any count; others should be eliminated because the task involved cannot be handled properly as long as it is not reduced to reasonable proportions. The *Spruchkammern* can handle tens of thousands of cases, but not millions. Second, those covered by the provisions of the law are presumed to be guilty unless they prove themselves innocent. This is contrary to the rules of criminal procedures prevailing in countries where the common law applies. In other countries, to be sure, the opposite rule obtains, but then this is hardly a commendable feature of their legal system, and besides, in the past (always, of course, excluding dictatorships) the practical handling of indictments and trials greatly mitigated the evils inherent in this rule. Careful investigation of every single case preceded an indictment. In the case of denazification, indictment is brought against millions without previous investigation. Third, when a German *Spruchkammer* classifies people as mere followers, or as anti-Nazis, the special branch of the military government may review their cases and often does. This prolongs uncertainty, and is contrary to the professed intention of "dumping it all into the laps of the Germans."

A great many additional details could be mentioned, and some of the oddities characteristic of the operation of the law could be related.

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Suffice it to say that the task handed to the *Spruchkammern* is so vast that some have calculated that their work will not be completed before the year 2000. Optimists are willing to cut the time in half, but those deprived of their positions, their homes, and of higher rations may be forgiven if they are not impressed with the difference in the estimates. Irrevocably, harm has already been done; much more harm will be done unless a drastic change is adopted without delay. Men who were on the spot have left no doubt about this necessity. Professor Max Rheinstein of the University of Chicago, a member of the Legal Division of the Military Government, made the following remarks in the course of a talk which Senator Morse inserted into *The Congressional Record* of March 31:

> Economic rehabilitation is delayed and the millions of outcasts are being welded into a solid block of malcontents and desperadoes who are driven back to nazism or driven into it for the first time . . . Our denazification methods are making martyrs of inconsequential little fellows, are hitting too many wrong people, bar the road toward conversion of the former Nazi who has learned his lesson, retard economic rehabilitation, thus prolong semi-starvation, i.e., the worst possible climate for democracy, and are driving into sterile hatred and resentful opposition millions of people who might otherwise have been sincere democrats.

The point has now been reached where diplomatic necessities have added their weight to that of the arguments set forth above. In August, an order was issued by the supreme commander of the Russian forces in Germany, which not only stated that denazification had been completed in the Russian zone, but provided that the vote was to be restored to all former Nazis who had not "participated in crimes against the peace and the security of other peoples or in crimes against the German people." It was, of course, known that the Russians did not take denazification too seriously—in fact no one took it quite seriously except the Americans—but this particular order went a great deal farther than could have been expected. It can hardly be understood except as a diplomatic move against the Western powers, whose own countermove was slow to materialize.

What should be done? Aristotle, in his *Constitution of Athens* reports that, after the overthrow of the tyranny of the Pisistratidae, "the Athenians, with the usual leniency of the democracy, allowed all partisans of the tyrants who had not joined in their evil deeds in the time of troubles, to remain in the city," where, apparently, they were left undisturbed. It might be argued that this policy of "denazification" was eminently successful, assuming that the ultimate aim is "democratization," for Athens was afterwards, with two brief interruptions, a democracy for 170 years.

In the case of Germany, it would indeed be wise to give immediate attention to major offenders and have them brought to justice. This task is now delayed by the necessity to clear the great many little people who will have to be cleared some

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time; if a general amnesty were granted in their favor a concentrated effort to deal with criminals and the leading supporters of the Nazi system would become possible. Criminals are easy to identify; in regard to those whose guilt consisted in political acts, a satisfactory definition is difficult. A solution might be found by letting the German authorities frame their own measures in regard to political offenders. They might not do too badly. When at the conclusion of the Nuremberg trials von Papen and Schacht were acquitted, a genuine wave of indignation swept over Germany, indicating that the majority of the people were guided by the right instinct. If such feelings can be translated into action, the problem can be solved. That it should be solved by action genuinely originating with the Germans would seem to be required by the fact that when nationals of a country have committed deeds as reprehensible as were committed by Germans under the Nazi system, a people has the duty as well as the right to purge itself of the responsible elements. Moral regenerations can, after all, not come from the outside.

There have recently been reports that General Clay was considering a change in denazification methods which would eliminate the bulk of the little people by having them pay a fine. The willingness to make a change is more important than the method proposed, which might or might not be satisfactory. These reports were immediately followed by protest from well-meaning people in this country who were afraid of leniency to real Nazis. They were not aware of the extent to which "denazification" as now handled has in reality contributed mightily to the renazification. A Congressional investigation, in the course of which all the cards could be laid on the table, would clarify the situation. The average American will not support the present form of denazification if he has access to the facts.

A carefree dealer wanted to borrow $50,000. "That's a lot of money," said the banker. "Can you give me some kind of a statement?"

"Yes," replied the dealer with enthusiasm, "I'm optimistic."

* * *

Air travelers arriving in London are no longer permitted to kiss or hug persons awaiting them. Too many use the embrace as a means to smuggle in goods duty-free.

* * *

Red-Feather Colbert, famous Chickasaw Indian painter, was the chief attraction at a woman's club dinner. He was dressed in tribal costume, with a necklace of cruel-looking teeth.

"What kind of teeth are they?" asked one of the women.

"Alligator teeth," the Indian replied.

"No doubt," the enlightened guest said, "they mean the same to you as pearls do to us."

The Chief smiled. "Well, not quite. Any man can extract pearls from an oyster."

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An alternative to censorship

Don't Chain the Movies!

By Max Knepper

Author, Journalist

MORE agitation exists today for some type of government censorship of motion pictures than at any time since the early thirties, when Hollywood's flouting of conventional moral standards brought about the formation of the Legion of Decency and a tightening of the Hays Code. Since freedom of the movies, unlike press, speech and assembly, is not a constitutional right nor an Anglo-Saxon tradition, Hollywood is far more vulnerable to censorship threats than the older forms of public expression.

Desirability of motion picture censorship involves the question of the movies' influence on public morals and behavior because that influence is the only excuse for the existence of a censorship. Political censorship is highly repugnant to most Americans and would not be intentionally instituted by them. Censorship to protect the social order, which might appeal to conservatives, is unnecessary, as Hollywood's products consistently demonstrate the material benefits of capitalistic society. Where else can a $40-stenographer live in a penthouse and wear furs even *before* she marries the boss' son?

Examination of current sentiment for public regulation of motion picture production shows that it derives from belief—mostly sincere—that the movies are a contributing factor in the rising wave of delinquency and general lowering of moral standards characteristic of the day. Religious groups strongly opposed to divorce or drinking are especially bitter about what they feel is Hollywood's tendency to propagate these evils. Their ranks have been fortified by influential newcomers hailing from the professions of sociologist, probation officer and crime prevention authorities. During the past few years, prominent spokesmen from these fields have boldly indicted Hollywood as a cause of our mounting juvenile delinquency. Since the motion picture industry has exercised self-censorship for more than 20 years under its Hays Code, the implication is that "self-control" has not been a successful experiment and a more drastic control is required.

For the uninitiated, it must be explained that the Hays Office (now the Eric Johnston Office) has no legal authority but instead is a private institution supported by the motion picture producers themselves. Its rules are voluntarily adhered to by the film makers, and the rigidity of its censorship relaxes with producers' demands, box-office currents, and the degree of pressures from special groups. By and large, the producers observe the code in letter but not always in spirit, which is

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why films sometimes founder on state reviewing boards or local police authorities. *The Outlaw* and, more recently, *Duel in the Sun* are typical examples.

Since any form of censorship is a type of thought control—ugly as the term sounds to American ears—the question shapes up quite like this: Are the movies so bad that we must place our greatest popular amusement in the bonds of political censorship in order to protect society from its baneful influence?

The answer is not simple even for the liberal who instinctively opposes all censorship. There is no denying that films are frequently released portraying criminals or moral degenerates in an attractive light. In such pictures, even though the anti-social characters are usually brought to an unhappy end, the emphasis is on the pleasures they derive from their misguided ways of life before retribution overtakes them. Nor can the powerful influence of visual education—for good or for bad—be minimized in a discussion of this sort.

Nevertheless, these facts considered, censorship of films by a political authority should not be contemplated until it is proved conclusively that movies do exercise a direct and adverse influence upon the social body and until all alternatives are exhausted. In a world in which the horizons of freedom are becoming alarmingly constricted, another new restriction is not to be invited recklessly. One such alternative will be suggested later in this piece.

Government censorship (federal, state or local) offers a broad target for attack. In the first place, it violates the spirit of American civil rights. It is entirely possible that, had the screen medium existed at the time of the Constitution's adoption, it would have been included in the Bill of Rights. The great majority of present-day American motion pictures are adapted from published plays, short stories and novels. Is it not anomalous to censor the motion picture derived from a basic source that remains free by constitutional fiat? The common explanation is that motion pictures ought to be censored because they reach a larger public, but this difference is merely one of degree and not of kind.

Under the present self-control system of the Johnston Office, few books reach the screen in their unexpurgated form. Quite typical is the case of Steinbeck's latest novel, *The Wayward Bus,* which is now in production. The author came to Hollywood for consultation on the adaptation, but was soon at loggerheads with the writer-director of the film, who advised that it would be necessary to transform the central character, Bus Driver Juan, into a more philosophical and less sensual person. Steinbeck vetoed the idea, insisting, as the author, that Juan had only sex on his mind. The producer overrode the veto, however, on the grounds of the Hays Code.

Most serious critics of the American screen blame the Hays Code for the unrealistic, adolescent qualities of native films compared with the mature approach one finds in European films. But the thought of how much worse the situation would be

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under bureaucratic censorship is so appalling to critical minds that no one ever suggests it as an alternative. Some, in fact, have turned squarely on the advocates of censorship by suggesting a bill to bring the motion picture industry under the protection of the Bill of Rights.

The fact that the movies may occasionally influence some unbalanced spectator to emulate the example of screen villains or anti-social heroes is not in itself an excuse for censorship. The essential difference between the authoritarian viewpoint (secular or ecclesiastical) and the democratic one is the attitude toward freedom and responsibility. To the authoritarian mind, the average person is incapable of choosing between right and wrong. Consequently, liberty of any kind is dangerous because of its possible abuse. The governing authority is presumed to know what is best for his subjects, and temptation to error must be prevented by censorship of ideas in any expressed form. In a democracy, values are simply reversed. Here the individual is free to express his views, unlimited by the possibility of their influence on another.

The newspapers offer a daily report of crimes and misdemeanors, often furnishing their readers a detailed account of the criminal's technique. Yet nobody of consequence suggests press censorship because irresponsible readers might emulate the examples they read in the papers. Civil rights confer freedom to advocate or inform but not freedom to act. A sane individual is presumed in democratic society to be qualified to choose between right and wrong. He is free to read and hear almost anything, but he must exercise judgment and control when it comes to his actions. Otherwise, he will land in jail.

PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES

In the practical field of censoring mechanics, many unappetizing contingencies must be faced. Who would do the censoring? The federal government, perhaps, in which case Congress would have to enact a law establishing the authority and machinery, which would probably be vested in a three or five-man-board appointed by the President. Ordinarily federal boards are composed of higher calibre personnel than local authorities, but even this fact is not reassuring. Appointments are necessarily subject to political pressure. How would a beleagured chief executive possibly appease all the pressure groups who would want voice in movie censorship — Catholics, Protestants, Jews, minority racial groups, Comstock moral snoops, social workers, law enforcement authorities, race bigots, political parties, and every other organization with an ax to grind in its portrayal or lack of portrayal on the screen?

Far from having identical interests, many of them, as the Johnston organization has painfully experienced, have conflicting views. Churches may agree on most biblical moral injunctions but not on dogma. Catholics and Methodists disagree, for example, on the morality of birth control. The Society for the Advancement of Colored People would never consent to the portrayal of a Negro's place in society that would

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be demanded by the majority of whites throughout the Deep South. The list of such conflicts is virtually endless. Thus federal censorship does not appear as an easy solution.

Experience with local censoring authorities has been anything but promising. In most cases movies of a serious social import have fallen afoul of ignorant, reactionary censors who stretch their moral code to include politics, sociology and economics. Walter Wanger had such difficulties with *Blockade,* a film mildly favorable to Republican Spain, that he has never since produced a vital picture. Political reactionaries, as well as certain high Catholic prelates, suppressed the film in New York and elsewhere, wherever they had censoring authority, until it was cut to meet their objections. After its editing, the spectator could not tell which side the picture favored, and its meaning was lost.

The Oxbow Incident, a beautiful and telling film depicting the horrors of lynching, was barred in several southern communities, despite efforts to avoid the race issue by making the lynch victim a white. More recently *The Southerner,* which merely touched on a few of the problems of the low-income white groups in the South, was banned in Memphis not on moral but on political grounds.

One of the stock excuses of Hollywood for its failure to film stories involving the great social problems of the day is its fear of the eight existing state censor boards. Confronted by an all-powerful federal censorship, the last vestige of artistic independence would vanish from the studios and the only product then to emanate would be a stereotyped rehash of innocuous, censor-proof plots and characterizations. Adults of reasonable intelligence and taste, educated in the classics, and capable of distinguishing between fact and fiction would be forced to see film plays judged suitable for small children and early teen-agers.

Those who are undecided on the question should not overlook the fact that nobody has proved Hollywood is to blame in any measurable degree for the post-war wave of delinquency and the admittedly lower moral standards of the present generation. Statistics are woefully meager on this subject. To assert that films have no deleterious influence would be a bold gesture in the face of the many "authorities" who claim the contrary, but it is reasonable to believe that the upsurge in divorce, juvenile delinquency, extramarital sex relations, and crimes of violence are due to causes far more fundamental than motion picture entertainment. Indeed, one might plausibly contend that Hollywood only mirrors the evils of contemporary society rather than creates them. But such an argument is as futile as the chicken-egg precedence. On the other hand, one must concede that the atmosphere of divorce, luxury obtained by criminal or parasitic means, and the shallow sophistication which characterizes too many films is not the best environment for an impressionable child.

The answer to the censorship question, then, would seem to lie in audience control rather than production interference. This would avoid

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most of the evils of the censor and still enable society to protect its immature members from the alleged anti-social influence of the movies.

State or local boards of education, their delegates, or other competent authority could act as a review board limited to deciding what films could be shown only to juveniles. While "maturity" is 21 in most states, for the purpose of movie censorship it should be 17 or 18. If by that time an individual lacks sufficient judgment and moral stamina to resist the influence of fictional screen characters and plots, he would have to be hermetically sealed from the world to avoid its pitfalls. The control suggested here would insure against the teachings of home and school being offset by morally unhealthy films while the child is still in elementary training.

Mechanics of enforcement would be remarkably simple. The law would merely require theatre managers to refuse admission to juveniles for films judged by the reviewing authority to be unsuitable. Considering the relatively few theatres (less than 17,000 in the whole nation), a few inspectors or the regular police in each community could easily enforce obedience, in a manner similar to enforcement of bans against liquor sales to minors.

In California there are far more liquor establishments than theatres, yet the prohibition against sales to minors is extraordinarily well enforced. The law holds the proprietor responsible, regardless of fault, and punishment for an illegal sale is a suspended license at the minimum. The same system could be applied to theatre owners, in which case few infractions would occur.

Such a system would also have the advantage of encouraging Hollywood to do what heretofore it has done only sporadically and half-heartedly, namely, produce selectively for adult and juvenile audiences.

If it is solely the child's welfare that prompts advocates of censorship, then some form of juvenile admissions control (which conscientious parents ought to exercise without legal pressure) should elicit their consideration. However, from observation of some of the more vocal censorship enthusiasts, it is difficult to dismiss the suspicion that many of them are merely using the delinquency issue as a means to an end.

The end they seek is control of the motion picture medium to mould public thought in line with their own dogmas. Such an aim should be resisted as vigorously as it would be if it were directed toward the press, freedom of assembly, or free speech. Once the door to censorship is forced, these might well be next on the agenda.

The V.A., distraught over its mounting accident rate, issued these warnings to its employees: Don't put paper clips in the mouth. Don't lean back too far in swivel chairs. Don't sit on waste baskets.

Another chief cause of casualties is the 5:01 P. M. rush from the building.

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An analysis of Europe's need and our ability to aid

We Can Afford to Aid Europe!

By Seymour E. Harris

Professor of Economics, Harvard University

One of the great debates of the moment is how and how much we should aid Europe.

Factors to consider include our price structure, which our national debt and our wage scales tend to increase and our tariffs which protect them.

As our prices go up in relation to Europe's prices, European industry cannot trade with us except by bridging the gap with something like the loans after the World War I or lend-lease.

The British experience shows how difficult it is for ordinary commercial lending to cope with the situation.

FORUM takes pleasure in presenting the viewpoint of those in favor of greater aid along the lines we have already taken.

ALMOST four years ago, Lord Keynes, then the world's leading economist, brought to the United States his plan for a clearing institution which would have made $30 billion available for equalizing the supply of dollars and the demand by foreigners. American negotiators, ever mindful of the political reception here of the British plan with its large demands for dollars, rejected it. The result was the Bretton Woods compromise: approximately $20 billion were to be provided roughly in equal amounts through an International Fund (the American counterpart of the clearing plan) and an International Bank. Against the opposition of the American Bankers Association, the isolationists and budget-balancers, the supporters of the Bretton Woods program barely won a hard fought victory.

It is now almost two years since the Bretton Woods Conference. The further it recedes in the background, the clearer it becomes that the fundamental mistake was not in asking too much but rather too little. In part, the appeal of Bretton Woods to Americans lay in its promise that the United States would share the banking function with others. Unfortunately, this hope can be realized only in small part: the world needs dollars, not francs, sterling, or pesos. Dollars alone will yield the goods foreign countries so badly need. This is perhaps the first disappointment.

With the sudden termination of lend-lease, the British encountered a serious exchange crisis. They had to have dollars, in large amounts, much greater than Bretton Woods anticipated and soon. Similar crises confronted other countries. The Anglo-American Financial Agreement, an expansion of the funds

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made available to the Export-Import Bank from about $500 million to $3½ billion; the advances through U.N.R.A.A., and finally the appropriations under the Truman Doctrine were an attempt to meet these crises outside the mechanism of Bretton Woods.

We are also especially interested in the economic recovery of France and Italy, now wavering between socialism and communism. Industrial output improved substantially in both countries. Estimated average daily consumption by urban consumers was, however, but 2,200 and 1,750 calories, respectively, in 1946, in comparison with 2,600 and 2,400 calories in pre-war years. Official rations were but 1,250 and 900 calories. Both countries showed the usual signs of a sick economy: increasing budgetary deficits, rising prices and larger import surpluses balanced by loans and gifts. At the end of 1946, prices in Italy were 50 times those of 1938; in France, nine times; and the trend was still upwards. In France, the estimated treasury deficits in 1945, 1946, and 1947 were 314, 392 and 600 billion francs, respectively; in Italy, 284, 381 and 610 billion lires. In 1946, the United States financed $1,200 and $720 million of the foreign exchange requirements of France and Italy, respectively—or about 40 and 70 per cent of the total foreign exchange requirements of these countries.

In many other countries, the situation is much worse. In the British and American zones in Germany, for example, the ration until recently was 1,550 calories daily; but the amount available out of German production to those not living on self-sufficient farms in these areas is but 1,000 calories. In the light of the mounting economic and political crisis in Europe, the Marshall announcement at Harvard can readily be understood.

MARSHALL PLAN

In his Cambridge address, Marshall said: "It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace."

This crisis is serious indeed. No one knows how many dollars we should supply. We can afford more than many are willing to admit. Let us not forget that the wasted resources resulting from unemployment in the thirties cost us $500 billion; the war, $350 billion additional. Another war will cost us millions of lives and the destruction of an economic plant that yields $175 billion a year. It is indeed worth while to invest $25 billion, or even $50 billion dollars over a period of five to 10 years in order to save these lives and keep this country from becoming an economic desert. Even if implementation of the Marshall Plan would offer only a one to 10 chance of staving off war for a minimum of 25 years, it would indeed be a very sound risk. Those who say we cannot afford $5 billion a year, should be reminded that we give away $3 billion a year to Americans, who on world standards, are rich indeed; that but 13 years ago we had a national income

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of but $40 billion; that we spend $7 billion a year on liquor; and that we consume about $90 billion a year more than we did in the early days of the New Deal. Can we share with the unfortunates abroad $1 out of every $18 of additional consumption, or $1 out of every $27 of additional income made available since 1932? Foreigners are not impressed by protestations of incapacity to lend or give when they compare America's share of world income and her share of world population. An average American has about seven times as much as the average foreigner! In short, this country has the capacity to give or lend.

Should it prove possible to work out an agreement with Europe on the lines suggested by Marshall, the battle would scarcely be half won. Bankers, isolationists, financial purists, among others, will fight the consummation of the Marshall doctrine. They are already organizing for the fight.

THE A. B. A.

Bankers, in particular, will have to be watched, or perhaps better, the American Bankers Association, for it has never been clear that the A.B.A. represents the rank and file of the bankers. It does not seem possible that the kindly, intelligent and charming bankers that we all know could espouse the short-sighted pronouncements of the A.B.A. Mr. Randolph Burgess, one of the country's leading bankers, has already told the British how little aid they can expect from private lenders and the International Bank. He did not, however, go on to tell the British what they might expect from the government. It would be interesting to know how the persuasive Mr. Burgess as a member of the President's Commission on the Marshall Plan will react to the following:

1) Late in June, foreigners had but $4 billion of unutilized credit out of $14.3 billion that had been made available by the United States for post-war reconstruction and relief.

2) An excess of imports over exports at the rate of the first quarter of 1946 would consume these credits in three months. Then all that remains would be the limited supplies of gold and dollars available to foreign countries, over and above minimum monetary reserves and aid from the International Fund and Bank. At the very most these credits and assets would finance the world's needs during the second half of 1947 and the early part of 1948.

3) By 1948, European countries, with few exceptions would be bankrupt. Some countries would be shorn of their dollars by the end of 1947; they could not then meet their dollar obligations by selling, by borrowing, by obtaining gifts, or using capital or gold. What is the A.B.A. solution?

Isolationism is not dead. In a very interesting letter to Senator Bridges, ex-President Hoover revealed the lines which the opposition would take. Disturbed by the large United States excess of exports, by the inflationary effects of the diversion of goods to foreign markets, by the threat of further conversion of dollars and dollar securities held by foreigners into

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goods, Hoover would reduce exports below the amounts of the last two years. In order to achieve this objective, he would materially reduce the volume of American gifts and loans.

Exports at the rate of almost $20 billion a year, or $13 billion in excess of imports, make an important contribution to inflation. (The excess over the years 1945-46 and 1946-47 averaged, however, but $7 billion. Recent rises are the result of the increased availability of goods and rising prices.) With Americans earning $175 billion a year, and in possession of $300 billion of liquid assets, the siphoning of $13 billion of goods in excess of imports per year (or even $7 billion) tends to raise prices. Our country can afford further doses of inflation much less than the diversion of the $13 billion of goods into export markets. Yet injurious as the inflation termite is, it would still be better to accept the additional inflation involved than give up a courageous lending program.

But need we have the inflation? To attack the problem of inflation by starving Europe and slowing up her recovery, as Mr. Hoover proposes, is a good deal like removing the heart of a patient with high blood pressure.

Those who would reject the Marshall program because it is inflationary are also in favor of tax reduction, against controls of supply, demand or prices, against control of consumer credit, and are unwilling to accept foreign goods in unlimited quantities. Even Mr. Hoover's name can be associated with the

Chilcote in the *Chicago Sun*

"LIFE BLOOD"

inflationary policies listed here. It is not inflation that those who use argument of the inflationary effects of lending or giving fear. Protestations against inflationary effects or the cry that our economy must be saved cloak, in fact, the fear of being generous, and the inability to comprehend the real issues.

This country has just gone through a serious inflationary eipsode which could have largely been averted. It was only necessary to maintain price control and control of demand for public expenditures, to be adamant about consumer credit, and in general to take measures which expand output and reduce demand.

Mistaken policies resulted in a rise of investment in 1946 to the unprecedented figure of $32 billion; a rise of corporate profits after taxes to the record level of $12 billion (and even higher in early 1947)

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with resulting pressure on wages; an increase of consumption from $106 billion in 1945 to $127 billion in 1947. Had the government maintained adequate controls in 1946 (and 1947, if necessary), investment might have been reduced by one half, or $16 billion, and consumption, by $20 billion, or in all by about four to five times the excess of exports of goods and services in 1946. Curtailment of investment would raise the flow of consumers' goods; for the capital and labor would produce consumers' goods instead of factories, and reduced investment and consumption would make more goods available for export without inflationary effects.

It is possible to contain inflation even with an excess of exports of $8 billion a year, a reasonable figure for the next five years. But it is necessary to accept some controls now, that we might be saved more controls later; to tighten our belts so that Europeans will not starve and turn to communism to spurn a free-pricing system under the quasi-war conditions of the late forties; to turn a deaf ear to those who confuse freedom with license to charge what the traffic will bear.

No, Mr. Hoover, your proposals to deal with the problem by voluntary curtailment will not do. A comprehensive program is necessary, not only to avoid inflation in general but also to offset the inflationary effects of the proposed program for foreign aid. Mr. Hoover and others should be reminded that the current excess of exports of $13 billion is much above the probable requirements over the next five to 10 years; also that if this country had pursued sensible economic policies and averted inflation, the $14 billion made available to foreigners would have purchased at least $3 billion more goods than it actually did; and that the $20 billion of gold and dollars available to them have lost at least one-third of their purchasing power. Our stabilization policy, or lack of it in the last few years, may well have deprived foreigners of $10 billion of goods.

COMING DEFLATION

So far, our assumption has been that inflation is the threat; and in the next two or three years it is likely to be. In the longer run, say the fifties, a greater danger will confront this country—deficient demand, a failure to buy all the goods produced at remunerative prices. Falling prices and deflation will result. In the absence of large government expenditures for defense, war or investments, deflationary forces will probably tend to prevail.

Under those conditions, what will be needed above all, will be a hypodermic yielding increased demand. Should it not be politically possible to turn on the spigot of expansion through domestic public investment or consumption, then a long-term foreign lending or giving program may well raise rather than depress the American standard of living. Economists are reluctant to present the analysis which follows, because to the man-on-the-street, it seems like the rankest kind of casuistry. Few congressmen will swallow it.

Yet it is contended that, if in the absence of loans or gifts, a substantial amount of unemployment

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does prevail—as in the thirties—then a foreign lending *or* giving program will provide more goods than are taken away. The analysis is simple. Loans or gifts *create* demand for unemployed labor and capital. Those favored by the increased demand spend a large part of their additional income; a third, fourth, and fifth cycle of expenditures follows, each somewhat smaller than the preceding. Against a billion dollars of goods subtracted from the economy, the *additional* cycles of demand induce an expansion of output of $2-3 billion. By *giving away* $1 billion, the country can gain $1-2 billion.

In his talk before the American Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Burgess harped upon the "awful shellacking" American private investors took on their foreign loans. In drawing conclusions on the net effects of our lending policies, Mr. Burgess would do well to consider the favorable effects on the American economy sketched in the preceding paragraph. It is not, moreover, at all clear that private investors earned less on their foreign than on their domestic loans. When they lend at eight per cent, they are indeed naive if they do not expect frequent defaults.

DOLLAR SCARCITY

Dollar scarcity is the nub of the problem. This is not by any means a new phenomenon, although economists have begun to discuss it seriously only in the last few years, and it has percolated to the press and radio in the last year. Dollar scarcity arises because foreigners need more goods than they can pay for with dollars received from sales of their own exports, or from sales of capital assets, inclusive of gold, or from new borrowings. War and political disturbances in Europe and Asia reduce the supply of goods available for export markets, and increase the need for goods from abroad. Over a period of 20 years preceding World War II, this country exported $19 billions of commodities more than it imported. Our customers paid for this excess of imports primarily by selling us $5 billion worth of services (e. g., sales to American tourists) and sending us $11 billion worth of gold. In the twenties, we made it possible for foreign countries to finance their excess of imports by lending them $9 billion; and in the thirties they obtained the dollars needed to pay for both an excess of imports and a flow of capital to the United States (seeking safety) by sending $9 billion of gold here.

Until this problem of dollar scarcity is solved, there can be no stability in international economic relations and, therefore, none in political relations. It is necessary for foreign nations to produce more so that they can become less dependent on imports and so that they can sell more. When this is done, they will need fewer dollars and obtain more, thus narrowing the gap between supply and demand. Here we have the only long run solution.

Foreign loans or gifts are required to provide foreign countries with the working capital, inclusive of food and raw materials, factories, and transportation without which normal productive capacity cannot

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be attained. They will also need freedom from war and political strife; with improved economies, they will more likely attain stable political systems. With improved plant, they should also be able to cut costs and enhance their competitive position. But this will avail them little if their potential customers, notably the United States, refuse to buy from them. In the long run, the choice that lies before this country is to allow foreign countries to obtain dollars by selling to us, or else to continue to give goods away. Unfortunately, protectionist sentiment is on the increase in this country—the International Trade Organization is going to have hard sledding even if prosperous conditions continue to prevail. With the onset of a depression, the prospects would be dim indeed.

A choice lies before the American people. They may take the short view, and refuse the credits subsumed under the Marshall Plan. In supporting an ungenerous policy, they will be influenced by a desire (1) to use their productive resources to support Americans, not foreigners; (2) to balance the budget; (3) to reduce the pressure of inflationary forces and "save" the American economy; and (4) to have nothing to do with European socialism and communism.

Unfortunately, they will probably not succeed in achieving their objectives. Without the foreign aid, the danger of war will greatly increase; and with increased preparations for war (aside from actual warfare), government deficits and inflation will grow. A larger part of our productive resources will go then, not to support a higher standard of living, but to support the military. The way to tackle inflation is not to deprive foreign countries of the minimum help required to reestablish them as self-supporting economies; but rather to adopt appropriate spending, saving, wage and price policies at home.

The argument in this paper is that we can afford the aid; that we cannot afford not to give it; that we can give the aid and yet preclude inflation; that the aid will ultimately raise incomes and standards of living in this country.

It is interesting that the Marshall Plan is already being trumpeted by the conservative forces as a victory for the New Deal plotters. Even Mr. Clayton, who not long ago, when he was reputed to have made some remarks on the "gravy" train was embraced by the anti-New Dealer, is now being attacked as a New Dealer. It is hardly fair to say that either Mr. Marshall or Mr. Clayton is a New Dealer, or, with few New Dealers left in high places, that the Marshall program is a New Deal one. If you cannot beat a plan on merits, it is an old game to call it Communistic or New Deal. We had all better put our shoulders to the wheel lest the financial purists, the isolationists, and the arch conservatives keep us from aiding Europe at this crisis in world affairs, and thus bring us much closer to World War III.

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Marshall-Vishinsky Debate

The hope of peace depends directly upon amicable Soviet-American relations and our ability to make the instrument of peace, the United Nations, work.

Secretary of State George C. Marshall opened the United Nations General Assembly on September 17 with a catalogue of the major differences between the two powers, which had paralyzed the effectiveness of the Security Council, and a solution: the setting up of an Interim Committee on Peace and Security.

Andrei Y. Vishinsky, chairman of the Soviet delegation, replied on September 18, upholding the course of the Soviet Union and bitterly denouncing the United States as a "war monger."

A "showdown" with Russia may be inevitable or avoidable. The lines have been drawn by Marshall and Vishinsky. It is now up to the two nations to resolve their differences.

FORUM presents excerpts from these two historic speeches on which the fate of the United Nations may well turn.

MR. MARSHALL

* * *

A supreme effort is required from us all if we are to succeed in breaking through the vicious circles of deepening political and economic crisis. That is why the United States has placed on the agenda of this Assembly the question of threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece.

The history of the Greek case in the United Nations is well known in this Assembly. You are aware that the Security Council, last December, adopted a resolution establishing an Investigating Commission to inquire into the situation along the northern frontier of Greece and report the facts to the Security Council. You know that that commission and its subsidiary group, by large majorities, have attributed the disturbances principally to the illegal assistance and support furnished by Yugoslavia, Albania, and to guerrilla forces fighting against the Greek Government.

The extent or effectiveness of such assistance to the Greek guerrillas is not the point at issue here. It is a universally accepted principle of international law that for one nation to arm or otherwise assist rebellious forces against another government is a hostile and agressive act. Not only has this principle been upheld in a number of famous cases in international law, but it has also found expression in international agreements.

The majority of the members of the Security Council have recorded

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their support of this principle by their action in this case. One permanent member of the Security Council however, has three times vetoed the efforts of the Council to deal with the situation.

This Assembly cannot stand by as a mere spectator while a member of the United Nations is endangered by attacks from abroad. If the United Nations should fail to protect the integrity of one small state, the security of all small states would be placed in jeopardy. The inability of the Security Council to take effective action in this case passes a grave responsibility to the General Assembly. I am confident that the General Assembly will not fail to meet this responsibility. It must do so if the organization is to carry out its fundamental purposes.

The United States delegation will, therefore, submit to the Assembly a resolution which will contain a finding of responsibility; call upon Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia to cease and desist from rendering further assistance or support to the guerrillas in Greece; establish a commission to assist in the implementation of these recommendations and to investigate the facts with regard to compliance therewith; and make other appropriate recommendations to the states concerned.

The General Assembly is also faced with the problem of Palestine. The Government of the United States intends to do everything within its power at this session of the General Assembly to assist in finding a solution for this difficult problem which has stirred up such violent passions, and which is now resulting in the shedding of blood and in great mental and moral anguish. The solution will require of each of us courage and resolution. It will also require restraint.

The Special Committee on Palestine is to be highly commended for its contribution to the solution of this problem. Although the members of this committee were not able to agree unanimously upon a number of important issues, including that of partition, they have been able to find the basis for agreement on eleven recommendations to this Assembly. Their achievement in reaching unanimity on so many points represents definite progress.

We realize that, whatever the solution recommended by the General Assembly, it cannot be ideally satisfactory to either of the two great peoples primarily concerned. While the final decision of this Assembly must properly await the detailed consideration of the report, the Government of the United States gives great weight not only to the recommendations which have met with the unanimous approval of the Special Committee but also to those which have been approved by the majority of that committee.

KOREA

I turn now to the question of the independence of Korea. At Cairo, in December, 1943, the United States, the United Kingdom and China joined in declaring that, in due course, Korea should become free and independent. This multilateral pledge was reaffirmed in the Potsdam Declaration of July, 1945, and subscribed to by the U.S.S.R. when it entered the war against Japan.

In Moscow, in December of 1945, the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and the United States concluded an agreement designed to bring about the independence of Korea. This agreement was later adhered to by the Government of China. It provided for the establishment of a Joint U.S.-U.S.S.R.

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Commission to meet in Korea and, through consultation with Korean democratic parties and social organizations, to decide on methods for establishing a Provisional Korean Government.

The Joint Commission was then to consult with that Provisional Government on methods of giving aid and assistance to Korea; any agreement reached being submitted for approval to the four powers adhering to the Moscow Agreement.

For about two years the United States Government has been trying to reach agreement with the Soviet Government, through the Joint Commission and otherwise, on methods of implementing the Moscow Agreement and thus bringing about the independence of Korea. The United States representatives have insisted that any settlement of the Korean problem must in no way infringe the fundamental democratic right of freedom of opinion. That is still the position of my government.

Today the independence of Korea is no further advanced than it was two years ago. Korea remains divided at the 38th parallel with Soviet forces in the industrial north and United States forces in the agricultural south. There is little or no exchange of goods or services between the two zones. Korea's economy is thus crippled.

The Korean people, not former enemies but a people liberated from 40 years of Japanese oppression, are still not free. This situation must not be allowed to continue indefinitely. In an effort to make progress the United States Government recently made certain proposals designed to achieve the purposes of the Moscow Agreement and requested the powers adhering to that agreement to join in discussion of these proposals. China and the United Kingdom agreed to this procedure. The Soviet Government did not. Furthermore, the United States and Soviet delegations to the Joint Commission have not been able to agree on a joint report on the status of their deliberations. It appears evident that further attempts to solve the Korean problem by means of bilateral negotiations will only serve to delay the establishment of an independent, united Korea.

It is, therefore, the intention of the United States Government to present the problem of Korean independence to this session of the General Assembly. Although we shall be prepared to submit suggestions as to how the early attainment of Korean independence might be effected, we believe that this is a matter which now requires the impartial judgment of the other members. We do not wish to have the inability of two powers to reach agreement delay any further the urgent and rightful claims of the Korean people to independence.

CONTROL OF ATOMIC BOMB

For the achievement of international security, and the well-being of the peoples of the world, it is necessary that the United Nations press forward on many fronts. Among these the control of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction has perhaps the highest priority if we are to remove the specter of a war of annihilation.

The preponderant majority of the Atomic Energy Commission has made real progress in spelling out in detail the functions and powers of an international control agency which would provide a framework for effective atomic energy control. Two nations, however, have been unwilling to join the majority in the conclusions reached. This is a disturbing and ominous fact. In dealing

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with the facts presented by the advent of atomic energy, the majority has devised a system of control, which, while it is bold, is, in our view, essential for security against atomic warfare. The minority has evidently been unwilling to face these same facts realistically.

The mandate of the General Assembly remains unfulfilled. Failure to agree on a system of control which can provide security against atomic warfare will inevitably retard the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy for the benefits of the peoples of the world and will accelerate an atomic armaments race.

The initial offer made by the United States on June 14, 1946, by which this country would give up its present advantage in exchange for an effective system of control, has found most gratifying acceptance by the majority of the nations represented on the commission. They have worked earnestly together to hammer out specific proposals whereby such a system could be put into effect. All have made important contributions to the end product. The majority is convinced that its proposals provide the only adequate basis for effective control.

Since the United States realizes fully the consequences of failure to attain effective international control, we shall continue our efforts in the Atomic Energy Commission to carry forward our work along the lines of the majority views. We must state frankly, however, that in the absence of unanimous agreement on the essential functions and powers which the majority has concluded must be given to the international agency, there will necessarily be limitations on the extent to which the remaining aspects of the problem can be worked out in detail. If the minority persists in refusing to join with the majority, the Atomic Energy Commission may soon be faced with the conclusion that it is unable to complete the task assigned it under its terms of reference laid down in the General Assembly resolution of January 24, 1946.

ARMAMENTS

The United States also recognizes the importance of regulating conventional armaments. We regret that much more progress has not been made in this field. From this rostrum it is very easy to pay lip service to the sincere aspirations of all peoples for the limitation and reduction of armed forces. This is a serious matter which should not be the subject of demagogic appeals and irresponsible propaganda.

I say frankly to the General Assembly that it is the conviction of my government that a workable system for the regulation of armaments cannot be put into operation until conditions of international confidence prevail. We have consistently and repeatedly made it clear that the regulation of armaments presupposes enough international understanding to make possible the settlement of peace terms with Germany and Japan, the implementation of agreements putting military forces and facilities at the disposal of the Security Council and an international arrangement for the control of atomic energy.

Nevertheless, we believe it is important not to delay the formulation of a system of arms regulation for implementation when conditions permit. The Security Council has accepted a logical plan of work for the Commission for Conventional Armaments. We believe that the commission should proceed vigorously to develop a system for the regulation of armaments in the business-like manner outlined in its plan of work.

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The effective operation of the United Nations Security Council is one of the crucial conditions for the maintenance of international security. The exercise of the veto power in the Security Council has the closest bearing on the success and the vitality of the United Nations.

In the past the United States has been reluctant to encourage proposals for changes in the system of voting in the Security Council. Having accepted the Charter provisions on this subject and having joined with other permanent members at San Francisco in a statement of general attitude toward the question of permanent member unanimity, we wished to permit full opportunity for practical testing. We were always fully aware that the successful operation of the rule of unanimity would require the exercise of restraint by the permanent members, and we so expressed ourselves at San Francisco.

It is our hope that, despite our experience to date, such restraint will be practiced in the future by the permanent members. The abuse of the right of unanimity has prevented the Security Council from fulfilling its true functions. That has been especially true in cases arising under Chapter VI and in the admission of new members.

The Government of the United States has come to the conclusion that the only practicable method for improving this situation is a liberalization of the voting procedure in the Council.

The United States would be willing to accept, by whatever means may be appropriate, the elimination of the unanimity requirement with respect to matters arising under Chapter VI of the Charter, and such matters as applications for membership.

We recognize that this is a matter of significance and complexity for the United Nations. We consider that the problem of how to achieve the objective of liberalization of the Security Council voting procedure deserves careful study. Consequently, we shall propose that this matter be referred to a special committee for study and report to the next session of the Assembly. Measures should be pressed concurrently in the Security Council to bring about improvements within the existing provisions of the Charter, through amendments to the rules of procedure, or other feasible means.

The scope and complexity of the problems on the agenda of this Assembly have given rise to the question whether the General Assembly can adequately discharge its responsibilities in its regular, annual sessions. There is a limit to the number of items which can receive thorough consideration during the few weeks in which this body meets. There would seem to be a definite need for constant attention to the work of the Assembly in order to deal with continuing problems. Occasional special sessions are not enough. The General Assembly has a definite and continuing responsibility, under Articles 11 and 14 of the Charter, in the broader field of political security and the preservation of friendly relations among nations. In our fast-moving world an annual review of developments in this field is not sufficient.

INTERIM COMMITTEE

The facilities of the General Assembly must be developed to meet this need. I am, therefore, proposing, today, that this Assembly proceed at this session to create a standing committee of the General Assembly, which might be known as the Interim Committee on Peace and Security, to serve until the beginning of its third regular session next September. The

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committee would not, of course, impinge on the matters which are the primary responsibility of the Security Council or of special commissions, but, subject to that, it might consider situations and disputes impairing friendly relations brought to its attention by member states or by the Security Council pursuant to Articles 11 and 14 of the Charter and report to the Assembly or to the Security Council thereon; recommend to the members the calling of special sessions of the Assembly when necessary, and might report at the next regular session on the desirability of establishing such a committee on a permanent basis.

In our opinion, every member of the United Nations should be seated on this body.

The creation of the Interim Committee will make the facilities of the General Assembly continually available during the next year to all its members. It will strengthen the machinery for peaceful settlement and place the responsibility for such settlement broadly upon all the members of the United Nations. Without infringing on the jurisdiction of the Security Council, it will provide an unsurpassed opportunity for continuing study, after the adjournment of this Assembly, of the problems with which the United Nations must contend if it is to succeed.

The attitude of the United States toward the whole range of problems before the United Nations is founded on a very genuine desire to perfect the organization so as to safeguard the security of states and the well-being of their peoples.

These aims can be accomplished only if the untapped resources of the United Nations are brought to bear with fullest effect through the General Assembly and in other organs. The Assembly cannot dodge its responsibilities; it must organize itself effectively, not as an agency of intermittent action but on a continuous basis. It is for us, the members of the Assembly, to construct a record of achievement in dealing with crucial problems which will buttress the authority of the organization and enable it to fulfill its promise to all peoples.

The large powers bear special responsibilities because of their strength and resources. While these responsibilities bring with them special advantages, the great powers must recognize that restraint is an essential companion of power and privilege. The United Nations will never endure if there is insistence on privilege to the point of frustration of the collective will. In this spirit we have indicated our own willingness to accept a modification of our special voting rights in the Security Council. In the same spirit we appeal to the other permanent members of the Security Council, in this and in all matters, to use their privileged position to promote the attainment of the purposes of the organization.

MR. VISHINSKY

(Translated from Russian)

* * *

Casting its retrospective glance, the Soviet delegation must state that during the period covered by the report there were serious setbacks in the activity of the United Nations.

They are to a large extent a result of a tendency of such influential members of the United Nations Organization as United States of America, Great Britain to utilize the organization in the interests of their small group without any regard for strengthening of the international cooperation on the basis of the principles expressed in the Charter.

* * *

2. Among the most important set-

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backs of activities of the United Nations Organization one should mention in the first place the unsatisfactory realization of the Assembly's decision of December 14, 1946, on universal reduction of armaments.

* * *

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS

U. S. A. and Great Britain representatives, at the time attempts were made to outline within the framework of the Security Council and in the Commission for the Conventional Armaments practical measures for the realization of the General Assembly's decision on the universal regulation and reduction of the armaments, proposed such terms for the reduction of the armaments which could not but result in failure to realize the mentioned-above decision of the Assembly.

The whole activity of the American and British delegations in the Commission for the Conventional Armaments testifies that U. S. A. and Great Britain are unwilling to disarm and that they put brakes on the realization of disarmament, which gives reason for anxiety among the peace-loving nations.

* * *

Such a position taken by the United States and Great Britain with regard to the reduction of armaments and absence of positive results in solving of problems, indicated in resolution of December 14, 1946, give rise, as we have mentioned, to justified apprehension and alarm with regards to the possibility to successfully complete the undertaken task; the speedup of armaments, atomic weapon included, and military preparations of some military and economically powerful states particularly promote the spreading of the feeling of alarm and anxiety.

This undermines the faith in the sincerity of peaceful declarations and statements on determination to make future generations free from the hardships of war.

* * *

The anxiety is all the more justified for the reason that the atomic weapons are weapons of an attack and that of aggression. After one-and-a-half years of work of the Atomic Commission, none of the tasks set to it by the General Assembly's resolution of December 14, 1946, not only has not been completed but there has not been the slightest progress in the fulfillment of those tasks.

The Soviet Government, on its part, undertook a number of steps with the aim to contribute to the positive solution of this question. In addition and furtherance of its own proposal concerning the conclusion of international convention on outlawing atomic and other principal types of weapons of mass extermination, the Soviet Government submitted for the consideration by the Atomic Commission a proposal dealing with the principal provisions for the international control over the atomic energy.

Nevertheless that proposal met with a resistance, mainly on the part of the United States. U. S. A., believing that it will continue to exercise a monopoly with regards to the atomic weapons, resists any attempts to dismantle the existing stock of atomic bombs and outlaw their further production. At the same time U. S. A. systematically increases the production of such bombs.

At the same time there is no doubt that many of these disagreements could have been eliminated provided there had been displayed a more objective approach to the question on the part of some delegations, American delegation among them.

For instance, it could have been possible to eliminate the disagree-

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ment that arose in connection with the Soviet delegation proposal on destruction of the atomic bombs stocks upon coming into force of the convention on the outlawing of the atomic weapons. As is known, the majority in the Commission agreed in principle that it is necessary to destroy the stock of the atomic weapons and use their nucleous energy only for peaceful aims.

The United States delegation alone continues to object to the destruction of the stock of atomic bombs, thus obstructing a decision on the question approved by the majority of the Commission.

One's attention is attracted by the situation that has been created with regards to the question of inspection. American delegation has been stressing the particular significance of the inspection. In the Soviet delegation proposals, the inspection also occupies the place second to the outlawing of atomic weapons.

At present, however, the American delegation began unexpectedly to lessen the importance of the inspections, putting in the first place other questions such as transfer of atomic enterprises into the ownership of an international body, management, issuance of licenses, and so on.

* * *

The Soviet Union proposed in the interests of the universal peace to conclude a convention outlawing the use of atomic weapons in all circumstances. This proposal made by the Soviet Union found a warm response and support in all the countries.

* * *

The Soviet Union stands for a strict international control over the atomic energy plants but such a one, however, which should not be transformed into interference with those branches of national industry and with those questions that are not connected with atomic energy.

Proceeding from the principles outlined above of establishing of international control which should be, we repeat, real, strong and effective, the Soviet delegation believes it necessary to put the inspection authorities within certain limits to restrict their rights to the aims of the genuine control over atomic energy, excluding the possibility of the use of the control authorities for an arbitrary intervention into any branches of national economy, disregarding even the fact that such an intervention can only undermine and destroy national economy of any country.

The American delegation and some other delegations who support it insist particularly that international control authority transformed into an owner and acting accordingly to the interests of the majority of this authority, on whose benevolent attitude the Soviet Union cannot count, should own and manage all plants manufacturing atomic materials in a dangerous quantity. But the delegations that group around the American delegation and act under its leadership try to achieve exactly such a situation.

The quoted-before memorandum of British scientists does not conceal the fact that the American plan for the organization of the control over atomic energy provides for the measures which, as stated in the memorandum, "can be interpreted as a support of the United States dominance in the province of the atomic energy * * *"

The Soviet delegation is opposed to such a thesis and will remain opposed to it in future trying to achieve not a dominance of a single nation in the international control body but equality of all participants in this body in all its activity.

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It should be recalled in this connection that United States representatives on the Atomic Commission stubbornly oppose the simultaneous establishment of control over atomic industry on all its stages from the extraction of raw material up to output of finished products.

The United States representatives propose to postpone indefinitely the establishment of control over the most dangerous final stages of the atomic manufacturing, stages in which United States considers itself at present time to be holding monopoly. At the same time, United States insists that control over the initial stage extraction of the raw material should be immediately introduced.

It is abundantly clear that the American position cannot be otherwise interpreted but as a position according to which the control is not to be extended to United States of America while all other countries should come right away under the international control.

Such is the state of affairs with regards to the atomic question.

* * *

3. The so-called Truman's Doctrine and "Marshall Plan" are particularly striking instances of the violation of the United Nations Organization principles and of ignoring the organization.

The experience of the few past months has proved that declaration of this doctrine meant that the U. S. Government openly gave up the principles of international cooperation and concerted actions of the great powers and passed to the attempts to dictate its will to other independent nations, utilizing at the same time the economic means, alloted as a relief for individual countries in need, for an open political pressure.

This has been sufficiently illustrated by the measures undertaken by the U. S. A. Government in Greece and Turkey outside of the framework of the United Nations Organization and in evasion of it, as well as by the measures planned for Europe in accordance with the so-called "Marshall Plan."

Such policy is in a deep contradiction with the principle proclaimed by the General Assembly in its resolution of December 11, 1946, that the assistance to other countries "should never be used as a political weapon."

The "Marshall Plan" is, in fact, as it is quite clear now, but another version of the Truman Doctrine adjusted for the conditions of the postwar Europe.

The U. S. A. Government when putting forward this "plan" apparently expected, with the cooperation of the British and French Governments, to make the European countries that are in need of relief to face the necessity to give up their unalienable right to dispose of their own economic resources, to plan their own national economy as they see it fit, same as U. S. A. Government expected to make all those countries directly dependable on the interests of American monopolies which are seeking to avoid the impending crisis by an accelerated export to Europe of the accumulated commodities and capital.

* * *

At the same time, this plan is an attempt to break Europe into two camps and complete with the assistance of Great Britain and France the formation of a bloc of a number of European countries hostile to the interests of the democratic states of Eastern Europe and, first of all, to those of the Soviet Union.

The tendency to set up the bloc of a number of Western European countries, Western Germany included, as

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against the countries of Eastern Europe is an important feature of this plan. At the same time it is intended to use Western Germany and German heavy industry (Ruhr) as one of the important economic bases for American expansion in Europe without any regard to the national interests of the countries—victims of German aggression.

Suffice it to remind of these facts to show undisputably the incompatibility of such U. S. A. policy, as well as that of the British and French Governments who support the U.S., with the basic principles of the United Nations Organization.

OCCUPATION TROOPS

4. One cannot either consider as normal such a situation with regards to the relations among the members of the United Nations Organization when foreign armed forces continue to remain on the territories of the members of the organization, being the instrument of political interference in their internal affairs and thus creating unequal, subordinate relations between the states, incompatible with the Charter.

British troops still remain in Egypt —against the will of that country; they still remain in Greece in violation of her state Constitution, in Transjordania, who applied for membership in the United Nations Organization.

American troops continue to remain in China; this by no means contributes to the establishing of internal peace in that country. The presence of foreign troops on the territory of non-enemy states should not have place unless such a presence is connected with the protection of the communications with ex-enemy territories during their occupation.

* * *

5. One should point out also to the failure on the part of some members of the organization to put into effect important decisions of the Assembly: on the Spanish question (Argentine), on the question of discrimination against Indians in South Africa, on establishment of trusteeship over the former mandatory territory of South-Western Africa (Union of South Africa).

* * *

INDONESIAN CASE

In this connection we cannot avoid to dwell on the developments that are taking place in Indonesia. These events cannot be qualified otherwise than an act of aggression perpetrated against the Indonesian people by a state-member of the United Nations.

Unprovoked military attack by Holland against the Indonesian Republic caused justified indignation of all the honest people throughout the world. Well, did the United Nations Organization render due assistance to the Indonesian people? All of us know that it was not the case.

As the result of the consideration of the Indonesian question by the Security Council, certain states made no small efforts to minimize the importance of developments in Indonesia and to impose upon the Security Council such a decision which by no means cannot be regarded as sufficient for the protection of the legitimate interests of the Indonesian Republic who became victim of the military attack.

It is clear that such decisions cannot but undermine the prestige of the United Nations Organization which is exactly called upon to secure the maintenance of peace among the nations.

6. At the same time, one's attention is attracted by the fact that while not showing due interest to the elimination of the unsatisfactory state of affairs with regards to the solution of the Spanish and other questions, cited

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above, some influential powers display a particular interest to the Iranian question, which still remains on the agenda of the Security Council, notwithstanding the fact that 18 months have already passed since its complete settlement and that in spite of the request of Iran itself to take this question off the agenda of the Security Council.

* * *

7. Touching upon the subject of the Trusteeship Council, the Soviet delegation also considers necessary to note the following:

At the meeting of the General Assembly of December 13, 1946, U.S.S.R. delegation criticized the agreements on trusteeship over the ex-mandatory territories, submitted for the approval by the Assembly, for the reason that both the very preparation of those agreements and some of their articles did not correspond to what is required by the U.N. Charter.

The fact of the establishment of the Trusteeship Council was based on the said agreements with above-mentioned setbacks naturally could not but influence the U.S.S.R. delegation's attitude toward the election of the members of the Council. The Soviet delegation still continues to maintain the views stated in this respect by the Soviet delegation at the meeting of the General Assembly on December 13, 1946.

The U.S.S.R. delegation representing the state which is a permanent member of the Trusteeship Council wishes to express the hope that the above-mentioned violations of the Charter that took place at the time the agreements on trusteeship were concluded will be corrected which would undoubtedly facilitate the execution by the Trusteeship Council of its tasks.

* * *

8. Unsatisfactory state of affairs with regard to the work of the United Nations Organization is not an accident but a result of an attitude toward the organization on the part of a number of members, U. S. A. and Great Britain first of all.

9. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, its policy with regards to the United Nations Organization is a policy of strengthening of the organization; it is a policy of broadening and strengthening of international cooperation, a policy of a steady, consistent observance of the Charter and of fulfillment of its principles.

The strengthening of the United Nations Organization is only possible on the basis of respectful attitude toward the political and economic independence of the nations, on the basis of respectful attitude toward the sovereign equality of the nations as well as of consistent and unconditional observance of one of the most important principles of the United Nations Organization—that is, the principle of unanimity and accord among the Great Powers in taking decisions on the most important problems dealing with maintenance of international peace and security.

There is left for me to say just few more words with regard to the address of the Secretary of State, Mr. Marshall.

* * *

GREEK QUESTION

The charges made by the American delegation against Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania are utterly arbitrary and without proof. These charges go much further than the conclusions of the majority of the commission which were not supported by almost 50 per cent of the members of the commission and which do not stand any crticism if one is to take any serious approach to the data on which the conclusions are based.

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It will not be difficult to prove that the report of the majority of the commission on the so-called Greek question is full of contradictions and gross exaggerations which deprive those conclusions of any importance whatsoever.

Mr. Marshall's address raises new questions as well.

Korean question. Having arbitrarily outlined the situation in such a way that the futility of the work of the Joint Soviet-American Commission on Korea happens to be attributed to the Soviet side, Mr. Marshall makes a proposal which is a direct violation of the Moscow Agreement on Korea reached by the three Foreign Ministers in December, 1945.

The U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. undertook according to this agreement to prepare a joint solution of the problem of the unification of Korea into one independent democratic state. The new proposal made by Mr. Marshall is a violation of the obligations assumed upon itself by the United States of America and for this reason is not the right one or acceptable.

The U. S. A. Government prefers instead of undertaking arrangements for shaping out adopted measures according to the Moscow Agreement on Korea of December, 1945, and submitting them to the joint consideration by the Governments of the U. S. A., U. S. S. R., Great Britain and China, to violate its undertakings in an attempt to conceal by the prestige of the General Assembly its unilateral and by no means justified action.

The Soviet Government cannot accept such a violation of the said agreement on Korea and will insist that the proposal made by Mr. Marshall should be rejected for the reason that contrary to the obligations assumed under the tripartite agreement on Korea.

Mr. Marshall proposes to establish a standing Committee of the General Assembly under the title of "the Interim Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on Peace and Security" to maintain "constant attention" to the work of the Assembly and in order to deal with continuing problems.

In spite of the reservations in the American proposal to the effect that this committee would not impinge on the matters which are the primary responsibilty of the Security Council or of special commissions, there is not the slightest doubt that the attempt to create the Interim Committee is nothing but an ill-conceived scheme to substitute and by-pass the Security Council.

The functions of this committee, whose task is to consider "situations and disputes impairing friendly relations," are nothing else but the functions of the Security Council particularly mentioned in the Article 34 of the Charter. Even by virtue of this situation alone these functions cannot be transferred to any other organ, no matter what its name is, without obvious and direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations, and of course, the Soviet Delegation can in no way accept it and will energetically oppose it.

* * *

10. Against the propaganda and instigators of a new war.

The Soviet delegation believes it necessary to raise at the General Assembly a very important question concerning the measures against the propaganda of a new war.

* * *

War psychosis instigated by the efforts of the militarist and expansionist circles of certain countries, United States of America occupying

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the foremost place among them, is continually spreading and assuming all the more menacing character.

* * *

In this propaganda of a new war the most active part has been assumed by the representatives of American capitalist monopolies, by representatives of the largest enterprises and leading branches of American industrial and banking and financial groups.

* * *

Thus it appears that in some countries war is not so hateful after all to those groups of society that skilfully utilize the hardships of wartime for the purpose of enrichment. Therefore it is no accident that James Allen in his book "International Monopolies and Peace," stating that in the capitalistic countries economy suffers "loss of balance" and "radical disruption," quotes from the report of a governmental body engaged in the research of this particular problem some extracts which lead to the conclusion that only under the conditions of war the modern economic system is able of securing an approximately full employment.

* * *

The U.S.S.R. delegation on instruction of the Soviet Government declares that the U.S.S.R. considers as a matter of urgency the adoption by the United Nations Organization of measures directed against the propaganda of a new war, which propaganda is being carried out at present in some countries, chiefly in the U. S. A. For this purpose the Soviet delegation suggests that the following resolution be adopted:

"(1) The United Nations Organization condemns the criminal propaganda of a new war which is being carried on by the reactionary circles in a number of countries, particularly in U. S. A., Turkey and Greece by means of spreading all kinds of insinuations through radio, press, cinema and which contains an open appeal for an attack on peace-loving democratic countries.

"(2) The United Nations Organization considers the tolerance and more so the support of such propaganda of a new war that would inevitably be transformed into a third World War as a violation of the obligations undertaken by the members of the United Nations Organization, whose Charter provides for an obligation "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace, so that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.'

"(3) The United Nations Organization considers it necessary to urge the governments of all countries on pain of criminal punishment to prohibit war propaganda in any form and take measures for the prevention and suppression of war propaganda as a socially dangerous activity threatening the vital interests and welfare of the peace-loving nations.

"(4) The United Nations Organization reaffirms the necessity for putting into effect as soon as possible the decision of the Assembly of December 14, 1946, on the reduction of armaments and its decision of January 24, 1946, on the exclusion from the national armaments of atomic weapons and all other principal types of weapons designed for mass extermination, and considers that the realization of these decisions meets with the interests of all the peace-loving nations and would be the heaviest blow upon the propaganda and the instigators of a new war."

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FORUM: Are the Straits An

YES!

By Joseph C. Williams

THE area of the Near and Middle East "contains vast natural resources. It lies across the most convenient routes of land, air and water communications. It is consequently an area of great economic and strategic importance, the nations of which are not strong enough, individually or collectively, to withstand powerful aggression." Thus, on Army Day, April 6, 1946, President Truman defined the importance of the Middle East for the United States. The late President Roosevelt had declared the defense of Turkey vital to the defense of the United States as far back as 1941, before the United States entered World War II; the Turks consequently received Lend-Lease throughout the war. The Truman Doctrine, and the $100,000,000 loan to Turkey are but further signs of the strategic significance of the Straits.

"The intersection of two of the world's great highways of trade and commerce was within the Ottoman Empire and is now within the boundaries of present-day Turkey." One of these routes is the land route between Asia and Europe—the other is the all-important water route between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. The Straits, therefore, provide a short-cut to Middle East oil, a warm-water passage between Russia and the Western world and protection for Britain's lifeline to her fading Empire.

THE STRAITS

The passageway known as the Straits divides three distinct bodies of water—the Black Sea, the Bosporus, the Sea of Marmora. The Bosporus, a fairly straight link between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora, is about 16 miles long and one to three miles wide. The Marmora, 125 miles long, flows into the Dardanelles, which runs into the Aegean Sea. At the eastern end of the passage lies the Black Sea, once a Turkish, and now a Russian lake. Along its shores lie ice-free ports for the Soviet; four large Russian rivers flow into it: the Dnieper, the Bug, the Dniester and the Don. At the western end of the passage lies the Eastern Mediterranean—gateway to the southerly route to the Orient.

A glance at a map thus serves to show why Russia and Britain have been concerned with the Dardanelles for centuries. How the region affects American policy is far less clear. Let us face some facts squarely. The question of this debate: are the Straits America's first line of defense—implies that we are concerned with a discussion of a third world war. In any such discussion, the prime consideration is: who is the anticipated enemy? Since there is only one power strong enough today to threaten the United States, the answer is obvious. Having come this far, our question becomes: *In a war with Russia,*

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;rica's First Line of Defense?

NO!

By Samuel Roseberry

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, Secretary of State Marshall and my opponent to the contrary, I do not believe that the Dardanelles or any other European danger zone is an American frontier, or vital to American military security. My opponent has cited at length the history of the Straits to prove his point. He has succeeded, however, only in proving that throughout history various European powers have struggled for control of the Dardanelles.

PURPOSE OF STRUGGLE

Although it is not clear in his narrative, these struggles for power had a two-fold purpose: military and commercial. Careful distinction should be maintained between merchant vessels and ships of war. In modern times, merchant vessels of all countries have usually enjoyed free passage through the Straits except when Turkey was at war. Until 1920, on the other hand, the Straits were generally closed to all naval vessels; thereafter they were opened under strict treaty limitation as to number and tonnage. The commercial importance of the Straits was probably at its height when this was the only water route from Europe to Asia; with the general use of the southerly route under Rome its significance was immediately lessened. By the same token, the stategic importance of the Dardanelles passed its peak with the coming of the air age and the decline of naval power. The coming of the air age also, needless to say, has decreased the commercial value of the passageway and as air freight increases in use the importance of the Straits will further decline. To cite history in the belief that it automatically repeats itself is naive; as the commercial route through the Straits was replaced by the southerly route through Egypt and Syria, as the longbow replaced the crossbow and the A-bomb, the Blockbuster, so air routes have replaced water passageways as American frontiers.

Unfortunately, anyone who denies that Europe is "our first line of defense" is cried down as an isolationist. There was, of course, a time when it could be said that the American frontier was on the Rhine, just as in a previous age it was held with some justice that America was invulnerable, protected by great oceans from any European or Asiatic enemy. Both those ages are now passed. Today the Heartland theory of Halford MacKinder and the strategies of Admiral Mahan are outmoded, yes, outdated even before the old guard saw their value for wars that are past. The atom bomb, the long-range bomber, the coming era of "push-button warfare" have made these geopolitical theories obsolete.

My opponent cites geography to prove his point. Viewed with an open

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(Continued from page 290)

are the Straits America's first line of defense? Current affairs, geopolitics and history all shed light on this question.

GEOPOLITICS

There is no doubt that control of the Black Sea and the passageway to the Mediterranean is vital to the control of Eastern Europe. Consider this fact in the light of the geopolitical theory of the Heartland. The Heartland, according to Sir Halford MacKinder, who first formulated the doctrine, is *central Eurasia* (now occupied entirely by Russia); the World Island is Europe, Africa and Asia. "Who rules East Europe," declared MacKinder, "commands the Heartland; who rules the Heartland commands the World Island; who rules the World-Island commands the world." The Germans were thoroughly familiar with this theory (through Karl Haushofer); their strategy in attacking Russia in 1941 was partly based upon it. Today, those who fear Russia also remember the Heartland.

With the "entire world" as an "arena of battle," the United States must try to hold any territory that would strengthen the enemy; directly or indirectly she must keep the strategic Straits from Russian control.

STRATEGY

International or western domination of the Straits is also important to this country from a more positive point of view. The Mediterranean, if not the Straits, is a vital link between Europe and Asia, between Great Britain and the Eastern members of the Commonwealth, between the United States and middle Eastern oil supplies. Supply lines to the Orient and to the lands "down under" must be kept open in wartime. Demands upon domestic oil supplies are today so heavy that there is no doubt of America's strategic need for Middle Eastern oils. It is also vital to the defense of this country that no Russian fleet be able to speed at will through the Straits into the Eastern Mediterranean, there to threaten Western naval power, with the safety of the Black Sea open for a strategic retreat. Even as in the past Russia has been concerned that no fleet should enter the Black Sea in force, so are we today concerned that no Russian force shall control the Eastern Mediterranean via the Straits.

Control of the Dardanelles has been a pivot point in the diplomacy not only of Turkey and Russia but of Great Britain, France and Germany as well. The history of the Straits from 1350 to 1947 is the history of shifting diplomatic intrigue, secret treaty-making and war to prevent single-power domination of the Dardanelles. The very same motivation that prompts the Truman Doctrine has in turn prompted Russia, France, Great Britain and Germany to fight for control of the Straits and to dominate Turkey.

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It was not until 1696 that Russia began to threaten the Turks on the Black Sea, when Empire-minded Peter the Great conquered the port of Azov (subsequently returned to Turkey by the Treaty of Pruth, 1711). Peter merely served to point the way; it remained for Catherine II to make lasting conquests in warm waters. By the treaty of Kutchuck-Kainardji (1774) Turkish monopoly of the Straits and the Black Sea was broken, perhaps forever, and Russian expansion seemed assured. The treaty had other important results. All previous Russo-Turkish agreements were cancelled; all subsequent treaties, down to the Crimean War, were based upon it. Not only were other European nations to profit by Turkish defeat, they were also to line up to support or prevent growing Russian strength. From the time Russia reached the Straits, until today, Middle East diplomacy has been a struggle to preserve some balance of power in the Dardanelles; a struggle in which the United States is now involved.

TREATY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Although England had moved against Russia in 1792, it was Napoleon's Egyptian expedition that revealed to her the full strategic importance of the Near East route to India. From this time on she became the earnest though self-interested supporter of the Turk, main competitor of Russia for indirect control of the Straits. Thus, in 1809, Great Britain and the Porte signed the Treaty of Constantinople, more often known as the Peace of the Dardanelles, which provided for the virtual exclusion of the warships of all nations from entrance to the Straits. Article II of the treaty reveals brilliant British diplomacy:

> As it has at all times been forbidden for vessels of war to enter the Canal of Constantinople, that is, into the Straits of the Dardanelles and into that of the Black Sea, and as that ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire should be observed, henceforth, in time of peace, with reference to any powers whatsoever, the court of Britain promises also to conform to this principle.

This marks the assumption by Great Britain of her new role as guardian of the Straits and main supporter of Turkey, a role she was to play until her annexation of Cyprus, in 1871, turned the Turks against her.

But as Britain gradually awoke to the significance of the Middle East she found that the Russian bear was not hibernating. Playing a game now strangely familiar, Russia encouraged the Greeks to revolt against Turkey and fanned rebellion throughout the Balkans. The Greek War of Independence paid off for the Russians, bringing Russia to the gates of Constantinople and opening the Bosporus and the Dardanelles to merchant shipping of all nations (Treaty of Adrianople, 1829).

At the same time Russia took advantage of the Egyptian rebellion against Turkey to strengthen her influence with the legitimate Turkish government and finally consolidated her new position in the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi (1833). Russia now nominally replaced Great Britain as protector of the

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Ottoman Empire and, by a secret treaty clause, secured exclusive and complete freedom of movement through the Straits.

Naturally enough, other European powers did not stand idly by. Their chance for revision of the Treaty of 1833 came only seven years later, when the Turks were decisively beaten by the Egyptian rebel, Mehemet Ali. A four-power European Concert (Russia, Britain, Prussia and Austria) wrote the Treaty of London (1840) to replace Unkiar-Skelessi. The new treaty gave legal expression to the "ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire;" "four of the leading Powers jointly recognized in a formal international instrument the applicability of the rule of closing the Bosporus and the Dardanelles to warships of all States, whilst the Sultan, engaging to observe this rule in general, formally surrendered his former right of opening the Straits at discretion." Rephrased in the Straits Convention of 1841, the signal point was this: "So long as the Porte is at Peace, His Highness will admit no Foreign Ships of War into the said Straits."

TREATY OF LONDON

Accepting this diplomatic setback with ill-concealed chagrin, Russia made another open bid for control of the Straits in 1853, precipitating the disastrous Crimean War, which undid the gains of 100 years of Russian military and diplomatic strategy. The Black Sea was neutralized; Russia was forced back from the Danube, from the Rumanian provinces and from Besserabia (Treaty of Paris, 1856). She was forbidden to have a fleet in the Black Sea and even to have arsenals along its shores. The Treaty of London (1871) which de-neutralized the Black Sea, was a partial victory for Russia but the Treaty of Berlin (1878) did not increase her prestige, though it weakened Turkey considerably.

The Treaty of London had another long-term effect, in that it changed the course of British-Turkish relations. The Turkish government looked with no favor on Britain's occupation of Cyprus under the treaty; opportunely, Germany appeared at the crucial moment to replace Britain as chief friend of the Turks.

Although German interest in the Straits is of no consequence today, it was a vital instrument in making up the alignment of powers in the first World War. As a new friend of the Kaiser, Turkey took the part of the Central Powers, and because of her interest in the Straits, Russia opposed Turkey and joined the Triple Entente. Secret agreements with France and Great Britain assured the Tsar of both Constantinople and the Straits following an Allied victory—a promise forfeited by Russian revolution.

The Russian Revolution forced a radical though short-lived change in Russo-Turkish relations. From 1696 to 1919 the Russian Empire had clashed with the Porte continually. But the temporary relinquishment of imperialism by the U. S. S. R. made the Soviet Turkey's strongest friend during the period between the two wars—until evidences of Russian imperialism reappeared in 1939.

At the close of the first World War, the Straits were put under an inter-

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national commission and fortification of the narrow route was forbidden. (The Lausanne Conference, 1923). Growing tension in Europe moved Turkey to press for revision, and in 1936, at Montreux, Turkey received permission from Britain, France, Holland and Russia to re-fortify the Dardanelles. Since Russia had suffered under the Lausanne Convention, she supported Turkish aims once again at Montreux. Turkey's position was strengthened by the cancellation of the demilitarization clauses of the 1923 Convention and, more significantly, by the provision that Turkey, when belligerent, could close the Straits to warships of all nations. Turkey's international position was also strengthened by the new Turkish government of Mustafa Kemal, which consistently and constructively built for the young republic an independent role in international affairs.

The U. S. S. R. benefitted also, directly and indirectly, at Montreux. First of all, Black Sea powers (i.e. Russia) were permitted to send warships through the Straits into the Aegean without any limitation, save only that they must pass singly through the Straits. The number and tonnage of vessels that non-riparian powers could dispatch into the Black Sea were limited to assure Russia naval supremacy therein. Indirectly, Russia also benefitted by the increased power of her very friendly ally, the Turkish Republic. It was not until Russo-Turkish relations began to cool in 1939 that Russia could find fault with Montreux.

In May and June of that year the British and French governments revealed that they realized the importance of the Straits in wartime, concluding reciprocal mutual assistance pacts with Turkey. Renewed evidence of Russian expansionist aims (the Russo-German Pact of 1939 and the Russo-Finnish War) cemented Turkey's friendship with the Allies. Although during the war Turkey was nominally neutral and actually friendly to the United Nations including the U. S. S. R., she regarded Russia with growing misgiving.

Even this brief sketch of the history of the Straits highlights their importance for the European world. Russia, Great Britain, France and Germany have all alternately befriended and fought Turkey in their struggle for control of the world crossroad. As the U. S. S. R. has grown in size and strength, her pressure on Turkey for control of the Straits has become more obvious. And as her pressure increases, so does the strategic value of the Straits to the United States.

RECENT RUSSIAN DEMANDS

In June, 1945, Ambassador Vinogradoff presented informal terms to the Turkish government asking for revision of the Montreux Convention, the return of the districts of Kars and Ardahan, the granting of rights to fortify Russian bases on the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. In August, 1946, the Soviet went further, asking virtual custody of the Straits, a demand she repeated in October of that year. Great Britain and the United States have continued to support Turkey in the face of Russian pressure—a policy culminating in the American appropriation of $100,000,000 for Turkish defense.

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Great Britain's interests in the Straits have been traditional and obvious: she must protect her lifeline and keep Russia from becoming the overwhelming power in the Middle East. The United States has today in effect become heir to the British international position. As long as we live in a power-politics world, we must accept the traditional British position as preserver of the world balance of power. To keep that balance, we must protect supply lines to the nations "down under;" we must guard our own oil supplies; we must prevent any nation from gaining mastery of the Middle East and Eastern Europe. Russian custody of the Straits would give her such domination; therefore, to block such custody is a major part of our diplomacy and our military strategy. That is why American aid is going to Turkey; that is why the Straits are now America's first line of defense.

(Continued from page 291)

mind, geography illustrates even more clearly that the importance of the Straits has declined.

"Having come this far," writes my opponent, "our question becomes: *In a war with Russia,* are the Straits America's first line of defense?" Consider this from a geographical angle. The Union of Soviet Republics has a common air frontier with Canada and the United States that stretches for 4,000 miles. The shortest distance between Russia and the United States is across the Arctic Circle along this 4,000 mile frontier, where Russia controls the air lanes between the Western United States and the Orient. For almost half the circumference of the earth, at latitude 70°, the U. S. S. R. borders the Arctic Ocean. An air war between Russia and the United States will center more certainly in the Arctic wastelands than in the Dardanelles! And can anyone doubt that the next war will be an air war?

How near are we technically to such all-out, long-distance air warfare? Remember, first of all, that World War II was partially an air war; Hiroshima and Nagasaki felt the first effects of atom-bombs; London suffered under guided missiles, however crude. Today we have already developed such intercontinental bombers as the B-36, with ranges of about 5,000 miles. In the *foreseeable future* missiles will be perfected with ranges of 5,000 miles, perhaps attaining supersonic speeds of meteors and carrying deadly chemical or atomic warheads. Understand, these gruesome weapons are by no means perfected; yet reports indicate that prototypes may well be in the air in 10 to 18 years. At that time, as Joseph and Stewart Alsop point out in the *Saturday Evening Post,* "continent can fire at continent across the Arctic Circle, and a single nation can blanket with this fire the whole temperate zone of the earth, in which are to be found all major military and industrial powers." Unless war comes very shortly, then, the Dardanelles will be as outmoded a frontier as is the Atlantic Ocean.

Another explanation frequently advanced for the emphasis on the Straits is the strategic importance of Middle Eastern oil. This of course is a question for experts, not laymen. But in the atomic air warfare described above,

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Arabian oil will not be as important to us as it has been in past eras. Indeed it is conceivable that atomic energy of some sort will fuel the airships of the future, and jet propulsion will at any rate utilize lower grades of oil.

OIL

Yet oil is undoubtedly one key to American interest in the Straits, the above arguments notwithstanding. That the United States is today vitally concerned with Russia and the Dardanelles is all-too-apparent; my contention is simply that this concern is neither strategic nor in any sense military, but solely commercial. The key to the riddle is Arabian oil, and American-Arabian oil interests, plus commercial interests in the Danubian basin.

The United States was originally drawn into Middle Eastern affairs in the 1920's in a search for oil, and as Professor Van Alstyne has remarked, "Petroleum development continues to keynote American activity in the region . . ." Prior to 1920, the British, the Germans and the French had begun to develop oil fields in the Near East. The Anglo-Iranian Company in southern Iran and the Iraq Petroleum Company represent the oldest concessions in the region. In 1914, the British government bought a majority interest in Anglo-Iranian, which has today the largest refinery in the world with a capacity of 400,000 barrels per day. The company's oil fields, also, are believed to be the richest in the area. The Iraq Petroleum Company, founded in 1914 by a combination of British and German interests, is now controlled by British and French shareholders.

Not until 1920 did the American government protest that the French and British were creating a monopoly; in that year the ill-fated Chester Concession was developed by Americans in the Mosul area.

Five American companies subsequently formed a Near East Development Company, and in 1925 Anglo-Iranian sold half its interest in Iraq Petroleum to this group. Of the five, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum remain, now holding a 24 per cent interest in Iraq Petroleum.

Standard of California secured the first independent American concession in the Middle East in 1930, on the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf. In 1933, Standard procured a concession in Saudi-Arabia, for a loan (to the King) of £30,000 gold. The Texas Company became an equal partner in 1936 and the two companies organized Bahrein Petroleum, covering Bahrein and Arabian-American, with holdings of 250,000 square miles and preferential rights to another 200,000 square miles. With vital interests in a territory larger than the combined area of California, Oregon, Washington and Arizona, it is small wonder that American oil companies are concerned with Russian expansion in the Middle East. Already, in March, 1947, Arabian-American completed arrangements for the building of a 30-inch pipeline 1,050 miles long from the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean. To pay for its construction, (the United States government refused to underwrite it), Socony-Vacuum and Standard of New Jersey joined Arabian-American and $125,000,000 was advanced for construction costs.

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Russia has thus far been successfully excluded from what promises to be the richest oil producing region of the world. Proved reserves in the Middle East are said to total more than 21,000,000,000 barrels—more than the estimated proved reserves of the continental United States.

The question before us thus resolves itself: are the Straits America's first line of defense for Standard Oil? Must our national security, the security of the West depend upon the protection of private British and American oil interests? Would it not be wiser to use our weight in international affairs to bring about a fairer distribution of Middle Eastern oil—a distribution that would include Russia? If the oil reserves of the Middle East were internationalized, tension in the whole area would be relieved. In fact, if this is not seriously considered, Russia may well force the issue. After all, why should the richest oil reserves in the world be the exclusive property of the Western powers? The American stand on the Dardanelles may well provoke the very crisis we are trying to avoid.

Furthermore, in the light of the rising national states of the Orient, our adoption of Britain's former imperial positions may prove embarrassing. My opponent blithely assumes that we must be the heirs of Britain. Well may the embryo states of the East look to Russia. Britain is thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the East. We do ourselves no favor by following blindly in her footsteps.

It is up to us to take the lead in stopping this senseless and war-charged rivalry for the control of natural resources. If our intentions to keep the peace are honorable, no other course is open to us. We cannot, with our right hand, self righteously pursue the course of peace in the United Nations, and with our left, sabotage it by clinging to outmoded concepts of naval strategy, the necessity to protect Great Britain's interests and those of Standard Oil.

While we do not adhere exclusively to the economic interpretation of history, yet the question of the Straits, in *this age* cannot be viewed in any other light.

This is the twentieth century—the century of the most destructive wars known to man. Our stand on the Straits can lead to a war of total obliteration, in which the oil fields and the Arab-American Oil Company would vanish in an instant. The question of the Straits is dynamite. Why play with it?

Sign at oak ridge: "If you must smoke, do so. Then leave by the exit that will suddenly appear in the roof."

* * *

The pedestrian may be wrong, but he doesn't deserve a death sentence.

George Allen

* * *

Herr Loeff recently returned the bronze nameplate of the Berlin bureau of *The New York Times*. He had been hit by it on February, 3, 1944, during an aerial bombardment.

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1897 - 1947 50 YEARS OF FORUM

"The more things change, the more they remain the same" runs an old French proverb. In 1897, we find FORUM contributors castigating our political parties, our economic theorists and our literature in familiar words. One brave humorist, however, lightens this dismal picture with a plea for laughter.

Thus it is that we have but two competing parties, one calling itself the Republican party and the other calling itself the Democratic party, neither able to tell just why it exists and what it exists for, and both combined unable to supply issues distinct enough—though sufficiently redundant in object lessons of another sort—to set up an old fashioned political kindergarten.

"It must be admitted that economic science has lost some of the general esteem which it once enjoyed. Its supposed doctrines are often dismissed by journalists with an air of careless impunity, which their predecessors would have been unwilling or afraid to manifest. Its truths are admitted by responsible statesmen, but are treated as applicable to the actual conditions of any planet other than our own; and its laws are set aside by impatient reformers as null and void."

One of the deteriorating influences of modern times flows from the fact that quantity, rather than quality, is so often accepted as a measure of merit. The voluminousness of modern authorship is one of its greatest dangers; and we are living, more than ever, in the age of books . . . All this tends somewhat to modify and lower the original standard of letters, and makes it appear a comparatively easy matter for one to pen his thoughts and secure for them a general reading. It is only the emphasis of the qualitative in literature that will save it, at this point, from rapid and permanent degeneracy.

"Has laughter gone out? Are we never again to have the honest guffaw —the loud laugh, which, as the poet says, bespeaks the vacant mind? Is this really a true account of the *rationale* of cachinnation? If so, probably it *has* gone out, at any rate in polite circles. Because we are nothing now, if we are not cultured and refined; and to be vulgar and to be ignorant are worse offences than any more explicitly forbidden in the Decalogue. And yet it almost seems a pity too. It is not well, surely, to lose any innocent, and happily, infectious expression of pleasure in a world so bedeviled as ours."

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Why there are no revolutionary writers among Negroes

Race and Revolution in Negro Literature

By Charles I. Glicksberg

Professor of English, Brooklyn College

FOR the past two decades, the Communist press has labored hard to discover an authentic radical genius among the Negroes. Were they not the wretched and oppressed of American earth? Where else but in the United States, and particularly among the disenfranchised and exploited black masses, could one find a more fruitful soil for the production of "proletarian" literature? Unfortunately the pickings were lean. Negro writers, despite the hectic exhortations of the Marxist theoreticians, did not live up to expectations. Perversely enough, and contrary to the doctrine of dialectical materialism, the Negro writers preferred to explore the American scene. Instead of adopting an abstract economic formula, their creative instincts led them to remain faithful to the experiences they knew at first hand. For them the quickening impulse to write sprang from the aspirations and struggles of their people. Their mission was not to engineer a social revolution but to justify the ways of their folk before a harsh, hate-charged "white" world. Fundamentally their aim was to make democracy work, not to destroy it root and branch. The Marxist dialectic was not only alien to their way of thinking but also remote from their way of life and utterly unsuited to their collective needs. It reduced them to proletarian status. It assured them they would inherit the earth, but they were not interested in inheriting the earth and they were unalterably opposed to proletarianization. They wanted to achieve the freedom and equality which the American creed held forth to all citizens, regardless of race or color.

Langston Hughes had once made the attempt to shift from "racial consciousness" to "proletarian consciousness," to write not like a Negro but as a worker who identifies himself with the submerged but united laboring class. He had been president of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and for a time was a loyal "fellow traveller," calling upon all workers, black and white, to resist the menace of fascism. Communism seemed to offer the only guarantee of a peaceful future for the world. Yet his faith, like his participation in the Communist movement, was not without heretical deviations. His position, as he admitted in 1935, was outside the party line; he was essentially an obesrver, not a "comrade." If some one were to ask him why his own work did not celebrate the victory of the proletariat, his answer would be that the revolution had not yet taken place; his poetry would therefore be

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an emotional lie. The song would not ring true. He hasn't seen the emergence of the victorious proletariat in America; he hasn't heard their song. Neither he nor other Negro writers could long wean themselves away from their obsession with the race problem. It was all fine and good to preach that salvation does not lie in racial solidarity and that black and white workers must unite in the common struggle against capitalism, but the Negro writers could create only out of their own experience, and that experience centered in the race problem and not in "the class war."

Even the insurgent radicalism of Langston Hughes, in *Fine Clothes to the Jew,* is directed against the evil of racial discrimination. His most poignant and effective lyrics in that volume deal with the suffering of his people in "white," not in "capitalistic" America. He is describing the life and tribulations of his race. In "Laughter," Hughes tells us that his people are singers, story tellers, dancers, but also dish washers, elevator boys, ladies' maids, stevedores, number writers; despite all economic handicaps they can laugh and dance and sing. Thus Hughes' protest against injustice expresses the matured consciousness of his people, their yearnings, their hopes, their determination to fight.

It would seem as if there is but a step from an inflamed sense of racial injustice to a realization of the basic cause of social injustice. It would seem as if it would be easy to convince Negroes, especially the intellectuals, that their woes spring not from racial discrimination but from the dynamics of the class conflict. Once the Moloch of capitalism is destroyed, all antagonisms of race and color will "automatically" disappear. At one stage of his development Hughes apparently believed this gospel, and its ruinous effect on his work is evident in the way he handled a number of "revolutionary" themes. In "Scottsboro, Limited," he has Red voices cry:

> We'll fight! The Communists will fight for you.
> Not just black—but black and white.

Significant of the mood and contents of this poem is that it ends with the audience yelling "Fight! Fight!" while the Internationale is sung and the red flag is raised above the heads of the united black and white workers. Only when his poetry is politically unorthodox, rooted in experience rather than ideologies, does it strike an authentic note. When it becomes defiantly class-conscious, it degenerates into a propagandist tract.

The Communist perspective only deepens and completes the Negro writer's sense of alienation, without giving him anything substantial in return except messianic expectations and a promissory note on the future. Because he is the victim, he is also the foe of injustice, whatever form it may take, but he refuses to reduce the cause of injustice to a single economic principle. Certainly slavery began and flourished primarily as an economic institution; certainly the shadow of the plantation still lies heavy on the land; but the racial antagonism of which the Negro is the object is far more complex than Marxism assumes.

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That is why there are no revolutionary writers among Negroes. For they have become too deeply involved in the racial struggle to be attracted by the evangel of Marxism. If for a time the Negro writer sought salvation in the Communist symbols, the best he could do was to repeat hypnotically the imperative to fight and overthrow capitalism. Small wonder he could not be nourished on such stale dogmas and sterile abstractions. Segregation had brought him into intimate contact with his people, their common life, their folklore, their laughter, their hopes, their faith. This life, lusty and rich in spite of oppressive poverty and Jim Crowism, was not to be forced within the procrustean pattern of partly dialectics, in which the Negroes were but a pawn in an international game of political chess. Rooted in the American tradition, the Negro writer could not think of himself or his people as members of "the proletariat." He hated the people who practiced intolerance but he loved the American earth, its traditions, its past. In spite of everything he continued to believe that the promise of American democracy would someday be fulfilled. He could not falsify the truth of his experience. He wrote as a Negro in order to abolish the category of race; the Communists would imprison him in the category of "class."

The deeper, the more complex the talent of the writer, the more likely is he to experiment with various forms of social and political salvation. The less adventurous minds, those seeking an authoritarian discipline, will remain with the Church of Communism, content to repeat its ritual and exploit its limited stock of symbols. Among both Negro and white writers, the more restless and rebellious spirits soon break away, refusing to be politically coordinated. During the period of the United Front in the thirties, Sterling Brown had been hailed as a promising revolutionary poet who emphasized the urgent need for the unity of black and white workers. His poem, "Black and White Workers," has this stanza:

"Shake hands, Sam, We'll be buddies now,
And do our scrappin' side by side from this."
"Well, here's my hand. I never gave it before
Scared I might draw back a wrist."

Sterling Brown at least writes from fullness of knowledge of what his people undergo in the South: the exploitation, the incredible poverty, the sorrows, the terrible persecution. Though he is outspoken in his challenge, militant in attitude, he is not the indoctrinated class-conscious poet of the Red Front. He writes primarily as an American Negro, not as the advanced guard of the embattled proletariat.

RICHARD WRIGHT

What happens when a young Negro writer is "converted" to the cause is best seen in the case of Richard Wright. Once a member of the Chicago John Reed Club, a left cultural organizations, he published his early work in such radical periodicals as *Left Front, Anvil, New Massess*. He could write about "the red moisture of revolt" con-

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densing on "the cold stones of human need." The poem ends with tiny red pools forming, swelling finally to a torrential tide, blazing their way "to the foaming sea of revolution." In view of Richard Wright's later development as a mature artist in prose, it is hard to believe that he once threatened the bloated capitalists with "a red clap of thunder rising from the very depth of hell," or that he once composed these lines of "revolutionary" drivel:

America, America
Every factory is a fortress
Cities breed soviets
America, America
Plains sprout collective farms
Ten thousand Units are forming
America, America
Resolutions passed unanimously
The Red Army is on the march
America, America
Arise, ye prisoners . . .

Though Richard Wright gradually drew away from the narrow dogmatism of the party line, the knowledge and experience he had gained by temporarily identifying himself with the Communist movement, lent his work a new perspective. In the text he contributed to *12 Million Black Voices,* he paints for us the depressing history of his people: the centuries of slavery and oppression, the economic hardships, the racial discrimination. We are given a socio-economic analysis of the forces that make of the Negro either a crushed victim or a rebel.

In the novel, *Native Son,* Bigger Thomas is the challenging symbol of the 13,000,000 black folks who walk in darkness, breeding the poison of hatred against the oppressor. Max, the Communist lawyer who defends Bigger, argues that Negroes are different from other elements in the population, native and foreign-born. They are not people; "in reality they constitute a separate nation, stunted, stripped, and held captive *within* this nation, devoid of political, social, economic, and property rights." Their personality is warped to such a degree that they can justify their existence only by releasing the pent-up murderous aggression within their being. That is Max's interpretation of the motives that prompted Bigger to kill, and that in part is the Communist analysis of the Negro problem in America.

But Wright is too much of an artist to emphasize the economic factor. The murder brought the inarticulate but suffering Bigger face to face with the meaning of his own life because it forced him to contemplate the imminence of death. Even in death, however, the fact that he was "black," unequal, and despised, was like a curse. In his talk with the Communist lawyer he looks back upon his life and tries to trace its confused pattern of meaning. He is unimpressed when Max tells him that union leaders and Jews are also hated. There is a profound qualitative difference. "White folks and black folks is strangers. We don't know what each other is thinking," he tells Max. He was black and, therefore, doomed.

In "How 'Bigger' Was Born," Richard Wright reveals how he came to write the novel. Gradually as he pondered on the fate of his people, he saw in Bigger a prophetic symbol. After escaping from the

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South and living in Chicago, Wright could fuse the disparate fragments of his experience into a more or less unified whole. His activity in the labor movement and his study of Marxism completed his intellectual emancipation and proved an important influence in his creative development. He made the liberating discovery that Bigger Thomas had counterparts in the white world: he was not always black. Everywhere among the teeming millions of the hopeless, the dispossessed, the exploited of the earth, such types were to be found in abundance. Such a realization obviously meant that he could behold Bigger's personality and fate in a more complex social perspective. The Negroes were no longer a *peculiar* victimized people but an integral part of a vast world struggle in which everyone, white or black, was involved. "I sensed, too," Wright adds, "that the Southern scheme of oppression was but an appendage of a far vaster and in many respects more ruthless and impersonal commodity-profit machine." Thus Wright's espousal of the doctrine of economic determinism and his participation in the labor movement saved him from revolt on purely "racial" terms. The issue was no longer Negroes against whites; a more profound and rewarding clue had been revealed, a key which would open the lock of history. Why could not the American Negroes attain their goal of freedom by allying themselves with other people who possessed a similar consciousness and understanding? Could not the gospel of the world solidarity of labor based on human equality regardless of race or color or creed, prove a redeeming force?

But Marxist ideology could not be of much assistance in the practical task of writing a novel. Wright needed concrete experiences, living personalities, a functional and coherent plot. He is not preaching dialectical materialism and adapting it to his needs as a writer of fiction. "I don't mean to say that I think that environment *makes* consciousness . . . but I do say that I felt and still feel that the environment supplies the instrumentalities through which the organism expresses itself, and if that environment is warped or tranquil, the mode and manner of behavior will be affected toward deadlocking tensions or orderly fulfillment and satisfaction." With enlarged understanding he came to see that as the Negroes in the South and in many parts of the North lived, so had many other oppressed peoples lived until they rose in revolt and overthrew their oppressor. So that *Native Son* is symbolically a prophecy and a threat: unless the burden of the Negroes' lot is lifted in time, the inner resentment will break forth in bloody revolts led by the Bigger Thomases of the future. It was, therefore, the imperative duty of American society to change the conditions which brought Bigger Thomas into being. For Bigger Thomas, a native son, product of a diseased society, carried within him the potentialities of either communism or fascism. "Whether he'll follow some gaudy, hysterical leader who'll promise rashly to fill the void in him, or whether he'll come to an understanding with the mil-

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lions of his kindred fellow workers under trade-union or revolutionary guidance depends upon the future drift of events in America. But, granting the emotional state, the tensity, the fear, the hate, the impatience, the sense of exclusion, the ache for violent action, the emotional and cultural hunger, Bigger Thomas, conditioned as his organism is, will not become an ardent, or even a lukewarm, supporter of the *status quo*."

WRITER'S RIGHT

Wright had originally contemplated making Bigger Thomas a symbolic figure of America, a revolutionary harbinger of the future. But he could not get himself to do it. He could not bring Bigger to life unless he portrayed him as he was, unless he developed him as a living personality. Truth must drive out fear and transcend the need for wish-fulfillment. Never mind the judgment that hostile whites or doctrinaire Communists would pass. Once Wright had made up his mind, he was free not only from the psychological oppression of the whites but also from the fear of Communist criticism. How could he compose a novel which in content would be politically orthodox and yet true to his feelings and observations? "Though my heart is with the collectivist and proletarian ideal, I solved this problem by assuring myself that honest politics and honest feeling in imaginative representation ought to be able to meet on common healthy ground without fear, suspicion, or quarreling." Regardless of what the Communist party leaders might think, he believed it was his duty to tell the truth as he saw it and experienced it. This was a right that cut far deeper than that of politics or race; this human right, "the right of a man to think and feel honestly," took precedence over every other consideration.

This effected Wright's freedom from political stereotypes or the imperatives of "proletarian" writing. He was no longer composing agitational verse or prose about "Fight! Fight! Fight!" or about black and white workers uniting against the might of capitalism. By remaining true to himself and writing out of the quick of experience, he began to perceive that Bigger was not only a Negro but also an American, a native son. Precisely because America denied him the right to live did Bigger turn to Negro nationalism. If the nationalist emphasis came first, that was because such a state of mind corresponded most truly with Bigger's fierce hatred of the whites. Bigger dwelt uneasily between two worlds, one which rejected him and another, the Black Ghetto, which he hated.

The inescapable obligation of the writer to tell the truth as he sees it and feels it rises superior to the compulsive canons of political orthodoxy. Though both Hughes and Wright are opposed to an economic system which crushes the body and the spirit of the poor, creative experience has taught them that the union of Marxist doctrine with poetry or fiction does not do their work any good. In any event, the writer must expose the social and psychological roots of behavior as well as the economic

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determinants. He must deal with life as he knows it and not as he would have it: the folklore of his people, the obstacles that confront them, the ways of the white folk, what goes on in the minds and hearts of men, the hatred and the love, hope and despair, frustration and fulfillment, defeat and transcendence. It is not his function as a writer, whether he be Negro or white, to present panaceas. His primary and ultimate obligation is to translate the flux and passion and contradictions of life into imaginatively effective and "true" terms. If he does that, the solutions, the panaceas, will take care of themselves. By making men more discerning and sensitive, by deepening their sympathies and enlarging their sphere of imaginative identification, the writer opens their eyes and sets their mind free.

If Negro writers at this stage of their development seem to prefer "black nationalism" to the religion of communism, it is because they feel they have no other choice. Here is a spiritual lifebelt for those drowning in the heavy, buffeting seas of discrimination. But the creed of racial solidarity is not intended as a permanent solution. No group can afford to cut itself off from the rest of humanity, and the Negro writer knows this better than any one else. He allies himself with his own people because he cannot afford to live uprooted and alone.

The racial problem cannot be solved by the Negro people alone. Negro writers, therefore, concentrate their attack on the vulnerable conscience of the whites. Fundamentally what these writers are doing, whether their stance is on of love or hate, is to stress the essential humanity of the Negro. Such imaginative projections are of considerable value in that they help to bridge the gulf of separation between whites and Negroes. They release the Negroes from the dark racial ghettoes of the mind, and they offer a more wholesome and rounded view of Negro life for the contemplation of the whites. They perform the function of catharsis, freeing both whites and blacks who are exposed to its influence from the self-destructive poison of hatred. Once the reader is exposed to the sanative and bracing atmosphere of literature at its best, he must perforce cease to think in racial categories. So that, paradoxically enough, the outcome of an art centered in what has been called "black nationalism" is to dissolve sharp racial antitheses and embrace them within the more inclusive concept of humanity. Thus by writing as a Negro, the poet or novelist achieves the vision of the universal. By writing as a Communist he damages his art and virtually denies his humanity.

Only because his humanity and that of his people is denied does the Negro writer confront the world as a "race man." In short, his race-consciousness is an emergency measure adopted in order to win ultimately recognition as a man. Once that objective is gained, he would be happy to drop the strategy of racial solidarity and utterly forget that he is a "Negro." What is the good of further lowering his already damaged status by identifying himself with the lowly proletariat, many of whom are intransigent enemies of

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the Negro? Such identification would fill his cup of humiliation to the brim; he does not want to be swallowed by the proletariat and become the "black proletariat."

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

Most repellent of all has been the crude and clumsy propaganda of the professional Communists who sought in the oppressed Negroes a "natural" ally in the struggle against capitalism. The reason why this propaganda failed so dismally must be sought in the history and psychology of American Negroes and not in the facts of economic development alone. For the Negroes have no desire to overthrow the government; they have no quarrel with democracy except that they have been defrauded of its benefits. Once the disease of racial discrimination were completely removed, they would be more than willing to compete on equal terms with other Americans. The Negroes do not want "self-determination." For them that represents the perpetuation of the ethics of Jim Crowism on a national scale. What they want is a chance to share in the fruits of native democracy as American citizens and not as Negroes.

Even more inept is the Communist attempt to divide Negroes among themselves by setting the workers against the middle class. The Negro intellectuals are called traitors of the race, utopian dreamers, weak-kneed liberals. In *The Negro Question in the United States,* James S. Allen denounces the philosophy of racial solidarity which intellectuals like Du Bois preach; that is a form of "bourgeois Negro nationalism" for which the Communists have no sympathy, since they are primarily interested in the solution of the economic problem and only secondarily in solving the Negro problem. The Negro, on the contrary, realizes that economic determinism is only a part of the racial problem. Hence he cannot accept the thesis that the Negro problem is basically the problem of an *"oppressed nation,"* and that the only solution lies in revolutionary activity. Even more astonishing is the Communist proposal for enforcing "the right of self-determination for the Negro people of the Black Belt," by means of which the democratic revolution in the South is supposed to come to fulfillment.

The Negroes have learned to face the realities of American civilization and are not going to allow themselves to be misled by Communist-inspired fantasies. What they want above all is to be accepted as fullfledged American citizens, to be granted equality of rights under the law. Democracy, not communism, is their goal. If they keep within the framework of democracy while demanding their "rights," it is because they still believe that the promise of democracy will be kept. How can the United States continue to preach democracy as a world religion without ultimately including the Negro within its scope? The Negro is sustained in his struggle by the faith that democracy can and will be made to work in this country.

For the Negro writer all this is not a matter of political expediency but of aesthetic salvation. If he is led to believe that attachment to revolutionary doctrine will save him and his art, he will produce the kind

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of agitational drivel that Richard Wright turned out in his early days or the flamboyant, made-to-order propaganda that Mayakovsky, by sheer force of will, manufactured for the Soviet state. Literature is not born that way. First comes the experience in all its complex truth and living immediacy. It is the task of the writer to interpret life in all its totality, uncensored, undistorted. His job is to portray with imaginative verisimilitude the life that men actually lead. It would be grotesquely false to fact to portray the Negro people as the black proletariat marching to battle against the Moloch-hosts of capitalism. Whether the racial problem in the United States can be solved by economic or educational means or by a combination of these, the fact remains that Negro writers feel most bitterly the oppression and injustice to which their people are subjected. These are the data of consciousness, the basic facts of experience, which the Negro writer assimilates and creatively projects in terms of literature.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946, of FORUM, published monthly at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for October, 1947.

State of Pennsylvania, County of Philadelphia. Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared D. G. Redmond, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the FORUM and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily, weekly, semiweekly or triweekly newspaper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit: 1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Events Publishing Co., Inc., 108-110 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.; Editor, D. G. Redmond, 108-110 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.; Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, None. 2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock.) Events Publishing Co., Inc., 108-110 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.; Shelby Cullom Davis, Scarborough-on-Hudson, N. Y.; Orin McMillan, 1341 Morrison St., Madison, Wis.; D. G. Redmond, 108-110 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.; Sidney B. Fay, 194 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass; Delia Kuhn, 202 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state. (None.) 4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

D. G. REDMOND.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of September, 1947.

(SEAL) WILLIAM V. ROWAN, Notary Public.
(My commission expires January 2, 1949.)

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Elegy for Armistice Day

The speeches and the cheering
No more can mar their sleeping.
The sound of women weeping
Is well beyond their hearing.

Earth does not try to number
The aeons that she grants them.
Whatever else she scants them,
It will not be their slumber.

—*ROBERT FRANCIS*

The Heiress
(Or the Conservative)

The orchestra among the palms, a boy
Bearing like a cold Torch of Liberty
A bottle on a tray above his head . . .
Just then the matched-pearl necklace broke. "Police!"
She screamed. "Don't anybody dare to move."
Crouching upon the floor like a frantic hen,
She tried to scoop them, all the scattered pebbles,
Into her crazy Nineteen Hundred skirt.
The music stopped. The boy froze like a dancer.
Perfectly timed the manager and three
Detectives darted in (Please everybody
Keep your seats) and fell on hands and knees.
They counted, "Fifty, fifty, fifty-one."
"But there were fifty-two," she moaned. "Oh God!"
Somebody kicked at something with his toe
And it rolled out in view. Now God be thanked,
Old woman, your pearls and you are saved and safe.
Praise God from whom all blessings flow. Praise Him
All creatures here below. The boy, bending,
Sets Liberty upon the table cloth.
Again the orchestra among the palms.

—*ROBERT FRANCIS*

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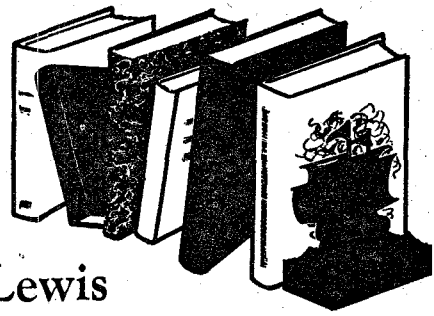
BOOKS In Brief



By Jasper R. Lewis

LOOKING BACKWARD IN POLITICS AND BOOKS

THERE is but a little of the private and considerable of the political life of Emporia's famous editor in *William Allen White's America,* by Walter Johnson, (Holt, $5.00). This apparently is the purpose of the biography; Johnson desires to convey a picture of the changing era through which White lived a full, hearty and enthusiastic life. It is readily admitted that the book reaches its goal.

With just a short introductory explanation of White's forebears and brief mention of his boyhood and youth, Johnson plunges on to the beginning of White's newspaper career which was cradled in a small town, principally continued there through a busy 50 or 60 years, and eventually ended in the same spot. The remarkable thing, of course, was the spread of White's fame nationally, despite the "country editor" background.

Using previously inaccessible letters to and from White, Johnson gives a broad if not deeply etched panorama of a young country growing up, peopled by genius in literature and both statesmen and rogues in politics. Taking up the literary side first, while admitting the versatility and facility of White's pen, Johnson sees him as "not an original or creative thinker. He was no great iconoclast, no revolutionary, no risky radical. . . . He was only slightly less confused than his neighbors from coast to coast about the major problems facing American life." His appeal seemed to stem from just that: plain folks considered White one of them.

Of greater interest than White's climb up the ladder of fame and fortune are the pages dealing with White's part in politics, local and national, and his activity in support of his beliefs. Beginning in the early 1890's, when the Populist movement threatened the old line parties, there was hardly a period when White was not engaged in political battle. A staunch Republican, his liberal and progressive views inevitably seemed to succumb to party dictates at the crucial moment. As reported by Johnson, when his idealistic recommendations were turned down by Republican leaders, he reluctantly but obediently climbed on the bandwagon. His political creed was loyalty to his

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party, and this was demonstrated a number of times in his career. Ethically one would condemn him for using his talents in this way, but Johnson prefers to consider it practical politics.

In his contacts with presidents and presidential candidates, as well as lesser figures, White's influence as a progressive was marked by fearless opinion even if frequently deflected to support party instead of principles. The various critical years, whether during the Spanish-American War, the first World War or the times of domestic crises, are too well known to need repetition, although White's part in top-drawer strategy throws light on both political life and politicians. In the description of the Wilson-Lodge feud, dirty politics are exposed; in the criticism of the Harding administration they are freely admitted. Johnson specifically calls the Republican party of 1920 the organ of property and special privilege.

Through the Franklin Roosevelt era White was pro-Roosevelt "three and a half out of every four years," that is, except at elections, and made every effort to enlighten his countrymen on the dangers of the war in Europe. He foresaw the present situation of opposition in the post-war dealings with Russia. In November, 1942, he wrote: "I am scared to death that after the war the country will go isolationist, possibly over the settlement of the peace with Russia. For Russia will have to be taken into the council—God or no God."

There are interesting incidents and conversations, some verbatim, and light is shed on some very dark spots in our politics. For these particularly Johnson's book is welcome, as White's shadow in politics is made to loom larger than in literature. It serves to emphasize the America in which he lived.

* * *

Changing scenes on the stage of American literature during the past half century, with new actors and new tastes in reading and writing, make *American Memoir,* by Henry Seidel Canby, (Houghton, Mifflin, $5.00), at times delightful reading, at times provoking. From the secure niche of his position as critic, writer and editor, Canby is well qualified to discourse on the profession of letters from the 1890's to the recent past. There can be no question of his adequacy; there is only the little matter of his likes and dislikes, his unswerving loyalty to his own tastes and gods.

Of the three parts into which *American Memoir* is divided, the first and second are revisions of earlier works in the same vein. The third and new part is rounded out by a more extensive recital of Canby's days of accomplishment and influence as editor of *The Saturday Review of Literature* and on the board of the Book-of-the-Month Club.

To be frank, his first reminiscences, covering his boyhood in Wilmington, Delaware, as the scion of an old Quaker family, are the most relished. Here he describes life in the small town, for Wilmington was small then, its people, its customs in the 1880's, its right and wrong side of the tracks, faintly tainted with a reverence for the right people and the conventions of

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a dying aristocracy. This was the Age of Confidence. It reflected the tenacity with which the old families, and later those made newly rich by industry, clung to their belief in their inherited power and position.

In the second part, Alma Mater, Canby reviews his college days at Yale, in the class of 1899. His recollections are those of usual student life, plus an intellectual seeking after a way of life less form-bound than the curriculum afforded. College was then for rich men's sons, and there is no sign of any sympathy for the poor but ambitious, nor for those whose families were not upper crust. Indeed, it was "the college that educated the class that was to rule the country for the next generation." After graduation, Canby became a member of the faculty, and it is here that the reader faces the conclusion that the aristocratic boy had become a Brahmin as a teacher. Not that his descriptions of students or professors are uninteresting; far from that, but he conveys in excellent prose a contemptuous attitude toward anyone or anything not socially elite.

His final section, devoted to Brief Golden Age, covers the period between world wars. Through participation in editing *The Yale Review* he met many prominent British writers sent here to propagandize. An invitation to England introduced him to top rank statesmen and authors, and he seems to have become deeply impressed by British literary and social values.

In 1920, as editor of *The Literary Review,* later to become *The Saturday Review of Literature,* he helped build a critical review of high calibre, in association with Amy Loveman, Christopher Morley, William Rose Benét and others. He has carefully evaluated now famous writers, their abilities and weaknesses, but from his own viewpoint. He places James Joyce and Gertrude Stein high in the scale; Cabell higher than do some other critics. Whether your beliefs meet his or not in this regard is not important, because what he says is stimulating as well as enjoyable. No one can fail to appreciate his flow of English; the one regret is the intimation of smugness. Even that is a personal reaction; it may be Canby's satire failed to register. At all events, the memoirs should be of interest to all wielders of the pen.

BRIEFER COMMENT

GENERAL INTEREST

Readers, writers and critics all may find comments of value in *The Reading of Books,* by Holbrook Jackson, (Scribner's, $3.00). Author of a number of books himself, Jackson has a kind word even for critics, but reserves his warmest sentiments for readers. To him reading is an art in itself, and he suggests methods by which the reader can get the utmost out of his time with books. It should be remembered, however, that the authors and books he discusses are in the field of literature, rather than in the flood of mass production.

One of the most entertaining volumes, in an educational fashion, to come this way is *The Psychology of Rumor,* by Gordon W. Allport and Leo Postman, (Holt, $3.50).

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Both authors are psychologists. Here they explain the methods by which rumors are set in motion, whether in everyday events or in the stress of war; the significance of rumors and how to analyze them. One might put the volume in the category of information the general public should digest.

A nostalgic evening is promised readers whose memories go back to 1918, with *I Remember Distinctly,* a Family Album of the American People in the Years of Peace: 1918 to Pearl Harbor, Assembled by Agnes Rogers, with Running Comment by Frederick Lewis Allen, (Harper's, $5.00). There are 247 pages of sharp photographs of people and events we recall, from Armistice Day on Fifth Avenue to best-selling books, newspaper headlines about the war in 1939, etc. It is one of the pleasantest five dollars' worth of print in a long time.

Operation Victory, by Major General Sir Francis de Guingand, (Scribner's, $3.75), covers the personal recollections of Montgomery's Chief of Staff, with details of campaigns, strategy and battles from Italy to Germany's surrender. It comments also on differences of opinion of British and American military heads. It is history made intimate.

War from the standpoint of the fliers in the Marine Corps is delineated in *Devilbirds,* The Story of United States Marine Corps Aviation in World War II, by John A. De Chant, U.S.M.C.R., (Harper's, $4.00). It is compiled from official government sources, and is concerned with the Pacific theatre operations. Skirmishes, plans and battles are given in chronological order.

Very interesting, particularly for laymen with a penchant for religious discussion, is *The Religious Pilgrimage of Israel,* by I. G. Matthews, (Harper's, $4.00). Matthews is a former professor of Old Testament Literature. The volume traces the growth of the Hebrew religion from tribal rites and customs through the ages, deduced from scriptures and history, down to the first centuries A. D.

Blessed Is the Match, by Marie Syrkin, (Knopf, $3.50), is the story of the Jew in Europe and Palestine through the Hitler era, based on a visit abroad and interrogations of residents. While there are references to the atrocities, emphasis is on underground and open resistance, the problem in each country, and the ultimate struggle for a homeland. Miss Syrkin gives a dispassionate account of what happened to the Jews; she is of course in favor of a Palestine state for them.

FICTION

Hardly a month passes without at least one book devoted to the Negro's problem. The current one is *God Is for White Folks,* by Will Thomas, (Creative Age, $3.00). The question is approached through the trials of the son of a deep South white father and an octoroon mother. The story goes back to plantation days. There is good character study, restrained but effective focus on tolerance, and a web of all the passions to round out a story that is satisfying.

Way of Life, by A. Hamilton Gibbs, (Little, Brown, $2.75), is a burning and bitter outcry against

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the stupidity of war and the waste of manhood. Through the medium of an American boy wounded in this war, in love with the daughter of a British veteran of World War I, Gibbs tells a staightforward story of intelligent understanding of common people's repugnance to war. This is a delicate love story, in no way a war novel, strengthened by a sane outlook on the world's greatest current problem.

Proud Destiny, by Lion Feuchtwanger, translated from the German by Mary Firth, (Viking, $3.50), is "the story of the wit and folly, the crafty stupidity and the over-conventionalized corruption of a decaying society." The book is based on life at the French Court under Louis XVI. Antoinette, Benjamin Franklin, Voltaire and Pierre de Beaumarchais, author of *The Barber of Seville* and *The Marriage of Figaro,* feature prominently, along with the decadent nobility of the day. Feuchtwanger captures the spirit of the period, with painstaking attention to detail. The novel is long (625 pages), but rewarding even if its pace is slow. The translation is well done.

The hectic era of F. D. Roosevelt from his inauguration to his death furnishes the background of *The Bright Promise,* by Richard Sherman, (Little, Brown, $2.75). The central figure is a young magazine man; possibly his wife should be given the star title. A wedding day coincident with the closing of the banks in 1933, a man with an idea for a picture magazine but no funds, jealousies, disappointments and successes, make up a first-rate, likeable novel. *Forum* recollects that Sherman was once a member of its editorial staff.

House Divided, by Ben Ames Williams, (Houghton, Mifflin, $5.00), is an imposing, 1500-page historical novel of the life of a Confederate family in Virginia through four generations. There is a little of Lincoln, glimpses of the war, and much about civilian life in the period. It is a book requiring patience for complete reading, a virtue this reviewer confesses he doesn't possess.

During the depression days circumstances made for cold-blooded business methods. When an eastern firm received word its salesman had been found dead in San Francisco, it wired:

"Send samples back by freight and search body for orders."

—*Jobber Topics*

* * *

An artist, employed to renovate and retouch the great oil paintings of an old Belgium church, rendered a bill for $27.73. The church directors requested an itemized bill and the following was duly presented: for correcting the Ten Commandments, $5.12; for touching up Purgatory and restoring lost souls, $3.60; for brightening up the flames of Hell, putting a new tail on the Devil and doing odd jobs for the damned, $7.17; for putting a new stone in David's sling and enlarging the head of Goliath, $6.13; for embellishing Pontius Pilate and putting new ribbon on his bonnet, $3.20; for mending shirt of Prodigal Son and cleaning his ear, $3.23.

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

BEFORE the theatre unfolds another season, and it is doing so with no evidence of assiduity or enthusiasm, we may glance at the state of its sister art, the film industry, which has no small effect on the stage. A more timely occasion would be hard to find, since Hollywood has been thrown into a panic of major proportions. England, jealously guarding the flow of dollars out of the tight little island which is currently in the throes of an economic crisis, is threatening to tax Hollywood's English market out of existence. Other nations may follow suit for reasons of national pride and economic expediency.

The immediate response of the film capital is a typical example of what might be called corporation psychology. It puts past profits out of mind as so much ancient history and develops a bad case of poverty jitters in anticipation of reduced profits. Its first move is to wield the scythe in all corners where are gathered the little people whose livelihood depends on employment by the studios. Secretaries, readers, publicity assistants and minor executive are dismissed in droves; all but the most expensive writers, producers and directors become drugs on the labor market. But it isn't merely corporation psychology that activates the fury of retrenchment. It is something else that creates the policy of loping off personnel without considering the ultimate economic results, and that instantly considers taking the difference between the foreign and the domestic markets out of the American consumer's purse in the form of increased box-office prices without even entertaining the possibility of buyer resistance. Something else must explain why Hollywood doesn't study its product first, why it strikes out in all directions without looking to its defenses, which are all necessarily located in the area of film-production, and succumbs to a maniacal anxiety. This other factor is Hollywood psychology.

Hollywood is as much a state of mind as a business, this in spite of the protestations that its owners are hard-headed business men. When American films mushroomed into a major art business, Hollywood dev-

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eloped peculiar attitudes of megalomania shared with American business as a whole but wildly romanticized. Nothing but the entire world would satisfy its delusions of grandeur and its raging appetite. When the world slips out of its hands, this romantic member of our industrial family sees only catastrophe. The prospect of having to limit itself to a domestic market of a mere 140,000,000 people is dismaying in the first instance because Hollywood cannot conceive anything other than an infinite market without losing confidence. And how can the moguls admit the possibility that Hollywood can create film art of any stature without extravagance of scenery, costuming, technicolor displays like *Duel in the Sun,* and a general air of munificence? Reckoning costs at their present rate, it is virtually impossible to meet these requirements for less than two and a half million dollars, and in the shrunken world market it would be next to impossible to retrieve that much money in most cases. Art, as Hollywood conceives that commodity, comes very high, and let no one tell you that Hollywood is not interested in "art." Its ego would suffer a severe shock; its confidence would vanish overnight, and the opium dream that sustains its hankering for magnificence would drift away if it had to forego dazzling both itself and its clientele with conspicuous waste.

Contrary to the general impression, the men on the West Coast are intelligent. It is quite easy for them to arrive at the conclusion that the answer to the shrinking market is, in the last analysis, to produce good films more cheaply. This is all very well in theory, but it is the practice that must be established, and mere reduction of overhead is not going to prove the solution any more than frantic firing will. Nor is there a solution in grinding out more and more "B" pictures, because the saturation point is rapidly approaching. The $200,000 potboiler was feasible while it could be packaged with films of greater pretension or accomplishment. The "B" thriller or Western was all right for a "double feature," as a staple thrown in for the youngsters. A continuous and unalleviated diet of cheap potboilers is destined to lose Hollywood its domestic market, too. It stands to reason, then, that the studios will have to supply "A" pictures but without the expensiveness of "A" pictures. Can this be accomplished when conspicuous consumption and conspicuous waste are the cornerstones of Hollywood "art?" The exceptions have been to make a dent in its outlook and practice. *The Informer,* as far as the industry is concerned, was a miracle. Nobody except John Ford and Dudley Nichols had any faith in it, and the executives of RKO allowed them to make it grudgingly and with considerably independence. Another superb but inexpensive film, Pare Lorentz's *The Fight for Life,* was produced under government auspices and was not distributed for profit. But Hollywood's records are full of vapid but gargantuan efforts that won both fame and fortune for its producers.

A new deal in picture-making

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must entail a revised view of esthetics which simply does not accord with established taste and procedure, including a realization that art is a matter of substance, inner life and form—the ordering of experience so that it will achieve a maximum of intensity and revelation.

Hollywood has probably the best camera-men in the world, but their talents have been at best, merely scratched. They have not been expected to create visual effects; they have been required only to photograph lavish settings and natural phenomena. Only a rare director like John Ford has allowed the camera to create rather than photograph. There are more potentially or actually able actors per square mile in Los Angeles than anywhere else, but they haven't been allowed to act. They have been merely given attitudes to enact and words to speak; the inner life as a source of acting has virtually remained undiscovered except for minor characters played by "character-actors." A Barry Fitzgerald in a leading part is a miracle, and it took Hollywood over a quarter of a century to discover him. Acting is indeed the last thing expected of a leading actor. He is supposed to be a personality rather than an actor, and it is no wonder therefore that his vogue is often short-lived. Even an actor like Frederic March has been kept within strict personality limits as the "decent fellow." His emergence as an actor, in the fullest sense of the term, which means creating a multi-dimensional person rather than a stock figure or a symbol, is to be noted in the recent *Best Years of Our Life,* although he has appeared on the screen for more years than he probably cares to remember.

Hollywood has also been a great emporium of writing talent. It has paid top prices for novels and plays, for the very best of them, unless they were too cerebral or too censorable. Yet rarely have the film-makers translated literary material into equivalent film values; that is, Hollywood has not created with this material. At worst, it has debased the product; at best, it has duplicated the book or play with only such changes as censorship made imperative and visual movement on the screen possible. *The Little Foxes* and *Watch on the Rhine* were commendable films, but it would be difficult to find any creative contribution not already supplied by the stage plays upon which they were based. In fact, it is largely the existence of a predigested product that has led Hollywood to pay fabulous sums for novels and plays; it has paid for the act of creation instead of creating itself. Many of the world's best writers have been impressed into service at the studios, but more as flunkeys than as creators except when they have been able to branch out as producers and directors. They have been hired to translate other writers' work rather than to write their own, and the percentage of work composed directly for the screen has been negligible; or, more accurately, Hollywood's story market teems with so-called "originals" but they are regarded as products of speculative hack-writing and as generally unsuitable for filming. And so they are, as a rule, because the writing of originals has not been

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practiced or regarded as an act of creation.

In short, the film industry has been imitative rather than creative, and has, therefore, had to resort to subsidiary contributions to eke out a film. It has not followed a procedure that results in work so valid that it does not require gilding, and it has even erected a philosophy to justify itself. It has rarely envisioned possibilities of attracting the motion picture public without lavish displays of feminine beauty, luxurious living and costly scenery. And it is true that the public has been conditioned by the films themselves to demand these embellishments, so that Hollywood may now be hoist with its own petard. Nevertheless, this is a minor problem beside that of learning how to create. The public has been rarely able to resist an exciting drama in any form. The public will simply have to be unconditioned or reconditioned. What the industry's high-powered publicity departments have been able to effect in one direction they can probably effect in another direction, if only they learn to stress the story and meaning of a film rather than its extrinsic elements. Hitherto most picture publicity has evaded the content of a film; in most cases, because content was the least attractive feature of the film, and, in rare cases where the picture did possess commendable content, out of a fear that the public wanted something else. But what is most necessary is to provide vital and engrossing dramatic matter.

Fortunately, precedent is not wanting in the case of such film classics as *The Informer* and *The Grapes of Wrath,* and more examples are being slowly supplied by the more forward-looking producers. Two recent samples are RKO's *Crossfire,* a gripping treatment of anti-semitism by the talented Dore Schary, and Enterprise Pictures' *Body and Soul,* an adult and socially important drama of prize-fighting comparable to Odets' *Golden Boy.*

When films of this calibre are made in greater profusion, the industry will discover that popularity is not necessarily reserved for the pinchbeck articles on which so much gilding has to be expended. The argument that a worthy picture like *Wilson* failed to recover its investment does not hold, in the final analysis. Not only was the investment too large but the approach, in spite of the noblest intentions, belonged to Hollywood's gilded age. Every effort was made to provide a spectacle, but too little effort was made to provide an absorbing tale. The assumption was that a string of incidents merely chronologically and ideationally related was enough to sustain interest, since the episodes could be made highly attractive by the camera. This is the primitive approach in the industry—namely, that drama is to be accomplished by superimposed rather than intrinsic qualities, that indeed you can have the effect of dramatic experience without dramatic composition.

The sooner Hollywood accustoms itself to thinking in dramatic terms, the sooner it will be able to dispense with ostentation and get down to the business of holding the public by inherent merit rather than by specious display. An obvious conclusion, you would say! It is by no means obvious to the industry, and it will

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continue to be resisted by both the showmen and the intellectuals in Hollywood. They are by no means ready to grant that drama and films are closely aligned. The showmen will never concede that they cannot make successful pictures without submitting to the rather rigorous demands of dramaturgy. They have been accustomed to improvisation and haphazard titillation of the public's fancy, they have been wedded to the theory that anything goes so long as the eye is engaged and the ear is filled pleasantly. Throw in enough variety, sensational visual effects, music, dance, or trickery and the rest is a simple act of alchemy, with the dross quickly turning into gold. The formula has worked in the past, and they will try to make it work again. But the trouble with them is that they are not really the best of showmen, since they couldn't make their formula work without a good deal of cash to supplement their lack of imagination. Good showmanship consists of knowing how to make much of little. Good showmen like Harry Cohn and Charles Vidor of Columbia Pictures were able to make the refreshing musical *Cover Girl* for one-third the present cost of a Grade A musical comedy by telling a round, unvarnished tale and letting the music and the dancing weave through natural backgrounds such as a hand-me-down honky-tonk and a row of ashcans down a Brooklyn street.

As for Hollywood's intelligentsia, it has such a fear of violating what it calls the "nature of the medium," of shackling the cinema's roving and omniscient camera, that the term "dramatic" is considered too restrictive. Some of the intellectuals will never agree that films are or should be drama, and insist on their being "epic." They point to the fact that novels make the best films, that adventure stories give the camera the greatest scope, that the eye can be held only by variety in motion. All this may be relatively true, but as usual, the trouble with the intelligentsia is that it isn't sufficiently intelligent. It doesn't realize that something can be both epic and dramatic, and its conception of drama begins with the post-Ibsen one-set play. By this standard, Shakespeare's plays are not drama but epic. Dramatic unity is not uniformity, nor does it entail any limitation of scene. What it does require is unification of diversity under some premise, and by means of some causal relationship between events that develop the premise. With all its available talent, Hollywood is singularly poor in dramatic talent; neither its writers nor its producers can construct a drama, and they have not been expected to do so. When Hollywood learns how to create drama consistently, it will be in a position to turn out commendable films at low cost, and when that happens the domestic market will be ample. In that event, it will even be possible to consider producing pictures that can attract only a portion of that market—a consummation devoutly to be wished for when we consider that many distinguished pictures cannot be made and that many themes are taboo precisely because Hollywood has found it necessary to please everybody to protect its investment.

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FORUM FEATURES

Seymour E. Harris, who contends that "We Can Afford to Aid Europe," is a Professor of Economics at Harvard University, and Managing Editor of the **Review of Economic Statistics.** During the war, he was a member of the Policy Committee of the Board of Economic Warfare; a director of the Office of Export-Import Price Control, O.P.A.; a member of Secretary Hull's Committee on Postwar Commercial Policy, and an economic adviser to the Vice-Chairman of the War Production Board.

Readers of FORUM will remember **Charles Glicksberg's** excellent essay on humor in Negro literature which appeared in the May issue, "For Negro Literature: the Carthasis of Laughter." In this issue, Mr. Glicksberg again turns our attention to the Negro writer, explaining why he has not been a steadfast supporter of the Communist party. Mr. Glicksberg is an Assistant Professor of English at Brooklyn College and the author of **Walt Whitman and the Civil War.**

FORUM'S popular contributor on the West Coast, **Max Knepper,** is opposed to movie censorship. In "Don't Chain the Movies!" he offers an intelligent alternative. Mr. Knepper writes a column for the Hollywood **Press-Times** and has written a book on the movie industry, **Sodom and Gomorrah,** which has been published in German, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, and two English editions.

Is America's frontier on the Dardanelles? Are we attempting to contain Communism or Middle Eastern Oil? For a fuller understanding of our Greek and Turkish policy, read this month's Forum, "Are the Straits America's First Line of Defense?"

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